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DEMOCRATIC DUTY AND OPPORTUNITY.

"Communism is a hateful thing and a menace to peace and organized government. But the communism of combined wealth and capital, the outgrowth of overweening cupidity and selfishness, which insidiously undermines the justice and integrity of free institutions, is not less dangerous than the communism of oppressed poverty and toil which, exasperated by injustice and discontent, attacks with wild disorder the citadel of rule.

"He mocks the people who proposes that the Government shall protect the rich, and that they in turn will care for the laboring poor. Any intermediary between the people and their government, or the least delegation of the care and protection the Government owes to the humblest citizen of the land, makes the boast of free institutions a glittering delusion and the pretended boon of American citizenship a shameless imposition."

AMONG his many words of wisdom to his countrymen, none are more wise or appropriate for consideration at the present hour than the extract from the message of President Cleveland of December 3, 1888, which precedes this article. Reading it by the light of events that have followed since the words were written, how impressively true are they, and fully attested by the history of the Fifty-first Congress and the action of the present Executive. In the election of 1888 the people of the United States were indeed caught napping, but were speedily aroused from their somnolent indifference by the unhesitating and insolent action of the representatives of triumphant plutocracy and of the "communism of combined wealth and capital," who flocked to the seat of the National Government to arrange for a division of the spoils of conquest and to rivet more securely the fetters of their control.

In the national treasury, on March 5, 1889, was found a great sur-

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plus, the result of combined integrity in collection and custody, economic administration, and a superabundant revenue derived from excessive taxation, from the latter of which relief by the repeal or amendment of tax laws had been rendered impossible by the presence of an adverse Republican majority in the Senate. So vast and rapid was the accumulation in the four years of Democratic administration that congestion of the Treasury and consequent depletion of the money market became a cause of grave solicitude. All this, however, was soon relieved by the presence of a Congress, Republican in both branches and with an Executive in complete and ready accord, which in two years exhibited a willingness and an unprecedented capacity to scatter the substance of the people, gathered by ruthless taxation in its most unjust and unequal forms. History will remember it as the "Billion-Dollar Congress," and will remember that the money was thus lavished and spent broadcast to prove that existing taxes were not only necessary, but should be increased and not diminished, and that prodigality and lavish outlay could be relied upon to re-distribute into favorite hands any supply, however great, that industry, enterprise, and invention, with backs bending under their legal burden, could painfully pour into the public treasury. Such wild and wanton expenditures entail evils so patent and dangerous as alone to cause the withdrawal of public power from the hands of a party capable of such abuse.

But the action of the Executive and the Fifty-first Congress had unveiled to the American people other dangers compared with which extravagant disbursements were but temporary and almost trivial. The policy avowed in presidential recommendations, in congressional measures carefully formulated and enacted into law by a solid party vote, by the congressional debates and extra congressional deliverances of the Republican leaders, demonstrated the existence of an organized plan for the permanent association of the Government with the private and personal interests of favored classes of its citizens in the exercise of the sovereign power of taxation with no limitation but their own discretion, and is now presented as the platform and basis for the perpetuation of their political power throughout the national Union. Mr. Cleveland's words have been thoroughly justified in his description of a "communism of combined wealth and capital, the outgrowth of overweening cupidity and selfishness, which insidiously undermines the justice and integrity of free institutions."

The McKinley tariff bill was, in the language of the gentleman

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whose name it bears, "assuredly protective." Instead of relief from unnecessary burdens or reformation of unjust methods, it was an intensification of these public wrongs; it was a scheme of taxation drafted and arranged under the immediate supervision of the agents of associated interests who themselves apportioned their respective levies and assessments upon the substance of their fellow-countrymen. Congress, in fact, renouncing its duty of popular representation, became the mere registrar of these selfish decrees. Each member of this combination attended merely to its own separate object, and, that having been attained, gave but little heed to what might accompany it. In such a system of legislation it is plain that disinterested statesmanship has but little part, and that the organization of political parties and their control will necessarily be left to expert bargainers whose character and faculties fit them for such tasks, and necessarily render them incapable of appreciating or preserving the essential equities of a carefully arranged constitutional system.

The unconscious and incontrovertible proof of what has thus insidiously become the actual law-making power of the people of the United States is amply supplied by the published reports of the various associated interests under whose direction and dictation and to whose entire satisfaction the schedules of the McKinley tariff were arranged. This statement finds abundant corroboration in the reports of the "National Wool Growers' Association" with its State branches, and the "National Association of Wool Manufacturers" and its kindred "Association of Wholesale Clothiers." The metal schedule was declared "completely protective" by the "American Iron and Steel Association," the "American Tin-Plate Makers," and the manufacturers of fire-arms and cutlery. The makers of American sugar now receive a bounty in cash, and the Treasury receives no taxes upon that article of commerce.

The creation of new industries is justified and avowed as a public policy, although it plainly consists in supporting one set of unskilled, inexperienced workmen at the cost of all other taxpayers of the country, with the supply of a dearer and inferior article as a consequence, and the occupations thus created at public cost are avowedly to enable the favored individuals to continue in business for their own personal profit. It is obvious that every tax thus levied in response to the demand for a protection of an existing industry or the creation of a new industry is an excluding tax upon some foreign commodity, and that every commodity in the degree that it is so excluded destroys or contracts to that extent the market for American exports,

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which consist mainly of the agricultural and other natural products of our soil; so that it is logically apparent that these "assuredly protective" duties are levied at the cost of the American producer and consumer, and in the perpetuation of such a system the distress and poverty of the American farmer and planter can no longer be a cause of surprise.

Stripped of the naturally mystifying facts which attend and obscure the working of every highly complex civilization, the great issue is made apparent to the eyes of the American people, the importance of which overshadows all others. It is nothing less than a submission to their votes whether the organic forces of their Government shall be changed from a promotion by their representatives of the general welfare and the blessings of liberty for themselves and their posterity by the transfer of the most sovereign power known to government, that of public taxation, to associations of individuals who, organized under the name of a political party and with professions of ardent patriotism, are to be invested with the sole control of the measure of tribute to be paid to them by the great body of their fellow-citizens. In support of this plan of conducting our Government, when Congress assembled in December, 1889, three measures, kindred in their nature and purpose, were formulated and adopted, the common object of all three being to render permanent and irrevocable the powers temporarily intrusted to the President and Congress by the American people in the last preceding election.

The first in order was a re-arrangement of the rules of the House of Representatives, which no doubt under preceding administrations had proved themselves in need of reformation, but which nevertheless had been those of a deliberative and parliamentary body in which ample opportunity for discussion and the amendment of measures had always been maintained as essential. The independent power to determine the rules of its own proceedings was secured to each branch of Congress by the Constitution, and the intention was to allow practical effect to those reasonable delays and checks upon the power of majorities which had been found essential for the preservation of freedom. But suffice it to say that in advance of the adoption of any rules and by the assumption of a "discretion" which Lord Camden had declared to be the law of tyrants, the Speaker, immediately upon his election, followed the bent of his own will under a convenient assumption of the powers of a vague general parliamentary law, for which was soon substituted a body of rules historically known as the

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"Reed rules," by force of which the Speaker, instead of having "no eyes or ears save such as the House gave him," soon made it known that the House could have no eyes or ears of its own, and that the journal of its proceedings was to be converted into the incorrigible record of the Speaker's personal declarations and decisions, determining that to be law which he thought to be reasonable or found to be convenient.

Much upon the same theory of expedition in business Charles the First governed England for eleven years without a House of Commons, during which time royal proclamations took the place of acts of Parliament. The American imitation lasted for two years, within which time the Speaker was enabled truthfully to boast that the House of Representatives of the American people was "no longer a deliberative body." Under such rules a bare party majority was speedily increased to a "working majority," and the time allowed to unseat members of the opposition was reduced in one case to something less than seven minutes; popular majorities were made the sport of partisan committees and party exigency, sustained and encouraged by the absolute power of the Speaker. With machinery so complete and a parliamentary scaffolding so erected, any statutory superstructure was easy of creation, and the prompt passage followed of any measure that party exigency should dictate.

In such a political atmosphere and with such appliances the second measure in order was presented in a system of tariff laws; laws for the administration of customs duties, and laws regulating the inspection of exports and imports were speedily enacted without decent opportunity for discussion or amendment. Some of these laws deputed to the President a discretionary control over the trade and commerce of the country and its taxation, unprecedented in our legislative history, highly dangerous to the public interests and plainly unwarranted by the Constitution. He was thus given control over the revenue policy of the country by vesting in him power to suspend the operations of public laws whenever "he might deem" the action of any foreign government "reciprocally" unequal or unreasonable, and to continue such suspension and to impose revenue duties "for such time as he might deem just"—thus placing important branches of commerce at the mercy of a single man.

This creates a government by proclamation and not by law, and has none of the characteristics of popular self-government. It is the consolidation of legislative and executive powers and the creation of authority, completely arbitrary, which may be needlessly or corruptly

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exercised with infinite danger to vast commercial interests, sets at naught all care and foresight in commercial contracts, and subjects the official exercising it to seductions of a corrupt nature highly dangerous and absolutely unprecedented in the history of free government. In an anxiety to enable sharp commercial dickering and personal bargaining to be carried on without recourse to the legislative branch, the great principle of our Government of the separation of powers for the preservation of liberty has been wholly disregarded, and to the Executive has been transferred powers and discretion with which our fathers deemed it safe to intrust only the representatives of the people.

The third measure was to rivet the powers thus claimed and exercised and to secure permanently in our political system not merely unequal privileges to the associated beneficiaries by whom the system of tariff taxation had been dictated and arranged, but to establish by law the arbitrary political control which such a system contained. This third measure was as profound and far-reaching in its nature as any ever introduced into an American Congress, and struck at the very root of local self-government and the independent control by the States over the fount and origin of free popular elections. The election bill, or, as it is better known, "the Force Bill," in its result, plainly stated, placed the ultimate control of the elections of members of the House of Representatives subject to Federal authority; depriving the citizens of the several congressional districts of that absolutely free choice in the selection of their representatives which had been theirs exclusively ever since the foundation of the Government and which is a corner-stone of constitutional liberty under our system of united States. Carried to its unstrained and logical consequences, the House of Representatives, under the operations of the Force Bill, would have been practically converted into a close corporation, with power to seat its own successors, in disregard of the returns of the votes cast at the polls of election. Such a law cannot be described otherwise than as an organic change and an act of the most practical revolution.

Under the "Reed rules," its passage through the House of Representatives was a matter of no difficulty, and in the Senate the history of its defeat *by a single vote* is still fresh in the mind of the country. The history of those perilous weeks of the pendency of this measure in the Senate when, under the evil temptation of the spirit of party, that body came so near to the abandonment of its glory of being a deliberative body—the council chamber of equal States, where free-

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dom of debate had never been curtailed or even questioned—has not yet been authoritatively disclosed; but, if one may credit reiterated and current rumors and the correspondence of the public press, the majority had at one time almost decided upon such an amendment of its rules as to permit the adoption of the previous question; and it was alleged that the individual instrument was selected who, without any amendment of the standing rules, should, by virtue of some vague and mysterious "inherent parliamentary power," entertain and put the previous question, having neither eyes nor ears save only those which his party associates should direct him to use in the recognition of a senator to accost the Chair, and thus arbitrarily put an end to the debate. But "*diis aliter visum.*"

The Force Bill had its origin in a section of the Union remote from those communities which would have been most disastrously affected by it; for from the Southern constituencies scarcely a petition was presented in its favor, while from the same quarter remonstrances were frequent, and from the most intelligent and representative men of both parties in the Southern States arose a single voice of earnest protest and deprecation of such a measure as an unauthorized invasion of local self-government and productive only of renewed and increased race controversy and hostility. But the measure was part and parcel of the combined plan to bind the people of the United States permanently in the chains of taxation levied in the name of the public, but converted into a system of individual and class enrichment, and this piece of the machinery was intended to register the decrees of the dominant party, and not the results of popular choice; tying down the safety-valve of free elections, which the wisdom of our forefathers devised as the peaceful and efficient method of relieving the people from legislative errors and abuse of power by the rapacity of mercenary combinations.

Among those who have come to believe that the fostering of special individual industries at the public cost was justified under our system, were the owners of silver mines in a group of States newly admitted under Republican administration in order to strengthen and prolong the control of that party in the national Senate. This class of citizens are vigorous, intelligent, and influential, controlling extensive capital and giving profitable employment to large bodies of laboring men. They were consequently potential in the States where their property lay and their business was conducted, and were all members

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of the association of co-partners with the Government in the business of determining the objects and the degree of taxation to which the people of the country should be subjected. Unfortunately for plans of these "silver kings," they did not confine themselves, as did the boilers of maple sugar, to the demand for a cash bounty, or, like the associated iron and steel makers, to a tax excluding foreign competition with their productions; but they made the extravagant and alarming demand that the Government of the United States should by law ordain the free coinage of all the silver bullion they could produce or which could be presented at the mint from any quarter, and ordain an arbitrary value for each ounce of that metal, and declare and enforce its receivability as full legal tender in all contracts, public and private, at a declared ratio of value to gold, more than one-third above its actual price current in every open market of the civilized world.

If the claim of this association of silver producers for a share in the profit arising from an exercise of public powers for private use had taken the ordinary shape of a percentage *ad valorem* upon their product, with the avowal that it was intended to foster the meritorious industry of silver production in the usual manner by laying a tax upon the rest of the community to support it, it would have been difficult for a consistent protectionist to have denied the reasonableness and justness of the demand according to the rules of the architects of the McKinley bill. A bounty of forty or fifty per centum to the silver associates would have been less in proportion than the present duties collected upon imported wool and woollens, and yet wool is not more sacred than silver. Not content, however, with the demand for a protective tax, they insist upon such a wild exercise of statutory power as would necessarily plunge the Government and people of the United States into an inextricable and hopeless contest with the opinions and interests of the rest of the mercantile world. It is a demand that the United States shall assume the fiscal autocracy of the world, and by its sole legislative fiat establish a ratio and parity of value between the metal of silver and the metal of gold.

The representation of the silver States in Congress is almost solidly Republican. All are stanch protectionists, and the most vigorous and able advocate of compulsory free silver coinage is Senator Teller, of Colorado, formerly Secretary of the Interior, who, lately in debate, has openly threatened the protective phalanx, of which he has long been and still is an influential member, with the loss of the electoral votes

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of the group of silver States should the Minneapolis convention adopt a platform and candidate opposed to the free coinage of silver. It is true that in the course of the speech referred to, this distinguished senator unsparingly denounced the Force Bill as "the most infamous measure that had ever entered the Senate," although he admitted that his vote in committee had been necessary to bring the bill before the Senate, and at the same time he emphatically denied that any agreement had ever been made between the opponents of the Force Bill and the friends of free silver coinage to prevent its consideration.

This claim of rightful power to make the private property of individuals more valuable to them by an exercise of the powers of public taxation is precisely the same in its nature and is not distinguishable from the same claim as is presented in nearly every feature of the McKinley tariff bill. The owners of silver bullion are therefore using the same arguments and exerting their great influence to accomplish the same ends as the other beneficiaries under the system of "protective" taxation. The silver owners are all members of the associated tariff owners' scheme; and free silver, as claiming its share in the scheme of governmental protection, and the Force Bill, as the means of continuing in power the party of protection by establishing congressional returning boards of the Louisiana pattern, are cognate measures having a common origin and a necessarily common result, which is the "communism of combined wealth and capital, the outgrowth of overweening cupidity and selfishness, which insidiously undermines the justice and integrity of free institutions."

The history of these two measures, so unexpectedly thrown by the cross-seas of politics into an apparent counter-action, and the part that each has played in relation to the other, form a curious and instructive episode in the history of American politics. Originating, as I have stated, in the same view of governmental powers and the claim for their use for private profit, it is yet the fact that happily each operated to check and overthrow the other when they were tossed together—

> "Eye of newt, and toe of frog,
> Wool of bat, and tongue of dog"—

into the witches' caldron of party politics. But this chance medley of opposition does not alter the fact of their mutual identity and inclusion in the scheme to change the organic forces of our Government and its practical effects upon the liberties of the people. The right to its share of "protection" on the part of the silver-producing industry is as just and clear, and is as confidently claimed as that of any other

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industry, and the origination and strength of the silver movement is in the mining States, whose solid vote in both Houses is in full sympathy and communion with the objects of the Republican party. The silver purchasing and coining measures of 1878 and 1890 were in each case concessions to the protection element in the Republican party, and were designed to give an artificial value to silver by lending the legislative power of the Government to assert the private interests of silver owners, and they were also contrivances to promote unity of action between its members.

The false principle which underlies both these measures, the recognition of the false position in which the Government has been placed by these enactments, and the increasing comprehension of the dangers attendant upon our losing our gold standard of value, have at last been so far appreciated by the American people that nothing is now clearer or more undeniable than that no political party and no candidate can receive a majority of the popular vote in November next, unless they possess the unquestioning and implicit confidence of the country that under no circumstances will they depart from the present standard and measure of values, and that their unit of value shall be stable and of such intrinsic value as to be self-sustaining at its nominal value the wide world over. I am convinced that the instinct of self-preservation of the country is now so thoroughly aroused that it will not permit any doubt on this subject to attach to the candidate or the purposes of the party to whom their suffrages shall be given, nor tolerate shuffling or straddling or electioneering postponements. Nor will it follow further a course that is leading us toward difficulties that increase with our progress—*I mean the ultimate disposition we will have some day to make of the enormous and growing accumulation of silver bullion.*

A careful study of the Force Bill and its possibilities must convince any reasonable mind, as it did Senator Teller's, that it *is* "infamous," and that under its execution the Southern States would soon retain scarcely the forms and but little of the substance of free representation, so that its enactment would be a signal of despair for the peace and prosperity of those communities whose recuperative energies have been so happily and splendidly exhibited ever since the control of their affairs has been remitted to their own hands without exterior interference or molestation. When it is thus made evident that the free-silver movement and the bill to control free

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elections have the same origin and are parts of the same plan of campaign, it would seem impossible to imagine a condition of public sentiment in the Southern States so suicidal as to permit, or in any way or under any pretext allow, the enactment of either of such laws to be made possible. As the case now stands, it may truly be said that the possibility of the revival and enactment of the Force Bill of the Fifty-first Congress, or some measure having a similar intent and object, can be accomplished only by the action of the voters of the Southern States by failing to sustain the party organization and its candidate logically and absolutely pledged to the defeat of *all* the allied measures with which the free-silver coinage bill is associated. The opportunity and duty of the national Democracy are clearly in view and logically sustain each other. The issues framed by wise Democratic statesmanship in 1887 and 1888 now need only to be unwaveringly supported, in order to be favorably decided by the great tribunal of an aroused public opinion in 1892.

The articulate demand of the hour is for the reformation and reduction of the existing tariff so that unnecessary taxes shall cease, and necessary taxes shall flow directly into the public Treasury and not indirectly into the private coffers of favored classes; the establishment of a system of freer exchange of our agricultural and other natural products for the raw materials produced in foreign countries, whereby our manufacturers will find their way open to expanded markets in which they may profitably compete, our shipping interests will be revived, and our mercantile marine enabled to regain its former supremacy; and the power of monopolies and "trusts" will be curbed and not, as at present, assisted. It is the paramount duty of the National Democracy to hold these great and patriotic objects high above all possible obscuration by machine methods or personal intrigue, and as an essential basis for all this quickened commerce, foreign and domestic, manufactures and merchant marine, we must agree upon and unequivocally proclaim the maintenance of a sound and stable standard and measure of value in the unit of money upon which the whole superstructure of credit and payments can be securely conducted.

For all this the people of the United States now stand prepared and joyfully expectant, and, with the confidence derived from four years of Democratic administration—from 1885 to 1889—are ready to renew it unless deterred by want of frank explicitness in the party declaration at Chicago, or doubts as to sincerity and real purposes of

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the nominees. The policies of the Republican party, on the other hand, have not changed, but are plainly intensified. The triumphs of the McKinley bill are still loudly vaunted by its beneficiaries, and although already stamped with popular disapproval, are not abandoned or even modified; the principles of taxation on which it is constructed are intended to be still more forcibly exercised. New taxes for protection, with revenue as an incident only, or a prohibitory system upon importations provocative of retaliation, and nothing less than commercial warfare upon friendly nations—these are brazenly upheld and advocated; the purchases of silver bullion by the Government are to be continued despite the dangers, alarmingly apparent, of their dislocating the gold pivot in the Treasury, upon which alone the interconvertibility of our various forms of currency is made possible. The triple alliance between the Treasury, the associate possessors of the national taxing powers, and the Force Bill, which is one of the adjuncts of the system, however varying in form or expression, has found the same manifest intent and meaning in every State convention up to the present time. Thus the McKinley tariff, the Force Bill, and the free-silver coinage are three branches of the same stock, parts of the same plan of campaign. The welfare and happiness of the country require that they shall be overthrown, and I have written this paper to assist in that good work.

T. F. Bayard.

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REASONS FOR REPUBLICAN CONTROL.

UNDER healthful political conditions, issues are never made by parties. They arise naturally in the course of events. Men form opinions as to the interest of a state, associate themselves together to give those opinions effect, choose candidates for legislative and executive offices who believe in and represent those opinions. These associations are called political parties. When a party is found inquiring upon what issues it can hope to gain power, when it avows or conceals its opinion for that purpose alone, especially when it avows one opinion in one part of the country and another in another part, that party is not fit to be trusted. The most serious and fatal charge which can be brought or ever could be brought against the Democratic party is that the motto upon which it has acted has ever been: Power first, conviction afterward. The Democratic party since the time of Abraham Lincoln has sought in its candidate for the Presidency a mask and not a representative. On the other hand, no thoughtful and candid man will question, whether he believe in all the doctrines of the Republican party or any of them, or not, that it avows its principles and purposes, and will select a candidate whose opinions are thoroughly well known, are without disguise or concealment, and will be acted upon under all circumstances and conditions.

The Democratic party, from the earliest period of its history, has always gone farther in the direction of mischief than its supporters, or at least those of them whose votes turn the scale in the election, expected when its candidates were chosen. The old encroachments of the slave power which preceded the war, the annexation of Texas, the repeal of the Missouri compromise, the Dred Scott decision, the national support of border ruffianism in Kansas, and the rebellion itself were acts of the Democratic party which it never would have ventured upon if it had been compelled to avow its purposes in the national elections which preceded them. The disastrous tariff of 1846, which in the period which preceded the war brought the country to the verge of bankruptcy and carried so many flourishing and promising industries to their ruin, was enacted by a party which had borne on

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its banner in Pennsylvania, then the pivotal State in our national election, the legend, "Polk, Dallas, and the Tariff of 1842."

There can be no better illustration of this trait in the two parties than their dealing respectively with the question of *fiat* money and the kindred question which is now before the people of the free coinage of silver. There is no essential difference in principle or in morals between these. One proposes to repudiate all obligations, public and private; the other to repudiate part of such obligations and to pay only a dividend. The Democratic party in all the States where it was in power and in most of the debatable States but two or three gave its vote for every form of inflation. It nominated Mr. Pendleton, the most extreme advocate of *fiat* money, for the Vice-Presidency, and elected him a senator from the State of Ohio, which had been the scene of the great conflict between repudiation and the honest payment of the debt, in which General Garfield rendered the most illustrious service of his illustrious life. In its eagerness to defeat President Grant it clutched at the name of Horace Greeley. But Horace Greeley, like that brave soldier General Hancock, was but a figure-head which the Democratic ship bore at its bows in the voyage whose destination was repudiation of the public faith and the overthrow of the results of the war. It may perhaps take Grover Cleveland as its candidate this year. But in every clearly Democratic State in the country its leaders will advocate the doctrine of free silver, and will urge the people to support Mr. Cleveland only that they may gain power, with which, when gained, they hope to accomplish their purposes.

On the other hand, there may have been a few Republicans in frontier communities, oppressed, or fancying that they were oppressed, with the burden of public and private debt, who favored some form of *fiat* money, or the increase of an irredeemable currency. But the party stood for the resumption of specie payments and accomplished its purpose. Mr. Tilden, when a candidate in 1876, although representing the thoroughly commercial people of New York, came out in favor of the repeal of the Resumption Act, a step which he deemed necessary to retain the support of his repudiating followers. Who ever questions the financial soundness of a Republican candidate for the Presidency or for the Vice-Presidency? Grant and Wilson, Hayes and Wheeler, Garfield and Arthur, Blaine and Logan, Harrison and Morton, have stood, with the vast body of their political associates, for sound currency, for paying the debt, for keeping faith. But every one of them, with

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the possible exception of one candidate for the Vice-Presidency during a short portion of his political life, would have stood equally steadfast for the same doctrine if he had stood alone.

Can any Democrat point to any effort made either by himself or his party in favor of honest elections? There are a few general professions in some of their platforms. But the one thing upon which the Democracy are agreed everywhere, from Louisiana to New York, from South Carolina to Maine, is the desire to overthrow all national or local safeguards which secure the accomplishment of the honest will of the majority through the ballot. Judge Jackson, of the Circuit Court of the United States, is an honored and conspicuous living exception to this general statement. The late Mr. Samuel S. Cox, Secretary Whitney, then Democratic corporation counsel for the City of New York, the four Democratic Congressmen who represented Brooklyn, General Slocum, the representative at large of the State of New York, agreed in commending the admirable working of the national election law of 1870, largely the same in substance with that which was met with such an outburst of rage and hate in the winter of 1890, when it was proposed to extend its moderate and beneficent provisions to the whole country. But the Democratic survivors of the rebellion in the South, Democratic ward-managers in Northern cities, the free-trader, the tariff-reformer, the Democratic monometallist, and the Democratic advocate of free silver, the politician who has come down from the time of Polk and Buchanan, the men who count the votes in South Carolina and Louisiana, the men who killed Matthews in Mississippi and Clayton in Arkansas, are united with the men who control the New York Legislature of 1892, and with the latest college-bred Mugwump convert in Boston, in their opposition to every security either for the protection or the honesty of elections.

It will be equally difficult to get from the Democratic party any clear and consistent avowal of a national policy as regards the tariff. It will denounce monopoly and declare itself for reform, and perhaps attack the McKinley bill in a few generalities. But I confidently predict that it will not commit itself by any declaration to which it can be held in regard to any single practical measure. It will not say to Alabama and Tennessee and West Virginia, "We are for free iron." It will not say to Maryland and Virginia, "We are for free coal." It is quite doubtful whether it will even venture to say again to Ohio, "We are for free wool." Nor will it say to the textile manufacturers of New England, "We are for free woollens."

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The Republican party, on the other hand, will declare itself, I believe, this year as explicitly as has been its custom in the past. It stands by the McKinley bill in principle and in detail. It does not claim that it is perfect, or deny that there are provisions in it, not of general importance, which may not be amended and improved without affecting the general principle on which it is based. But it will offer to the business and the manufacturing interests of the country four years of quiet, four years during which capital may be invested with the full knowledge that the conditions which exist when the foundations of the manufacturing establishments are laid, and the manufacturing process begun, may be counted upon to continue, and to be maintained when the product is ready for sale. Four years at least of certainty, of quiet, of safety, of security, of unchanged conditions and permanent business relations are what the Republican party has to offer, and means to offer, as a return for the confidence of the country.

It is not questioned that the bulk of the Democratic party is inspired by a strong patriotic feeling. It cannot be doubted for a moment that our citizens of foreign birth who have in such large numbers allied themselves with the Democratic party, however mistaken in this matter, are stirred by the profoundest and purest patriotic impulses. They vie with the citizens of native birth in a pure and tender affection for the land which they have adopted and which has adopted them. There is no nobler story in that noblest of all histories, the history of the United States, than that which recounts the courage and the sacrifice of these citizens during the war for the Union. Even the men who fought for the Confederacy and their children of the new generation will not be exceeded by anybody in their devotion to the old flag if any foreign enemy hereafter menace it. I believe that the most zealous partisan anywhere in the country has a feeling of mortification when he thinks of the humiliating diplomacy of Grover Cleveland and Mr. Bayard, of the Samoan muddle, of our relations with China, and above all of that capitulation called the Fishery treaty, and a corresponding feeling of pride and satisfaction when he thinks of the diplomatic achievements of the present administration. It has been said that our politics stop at the shore line, and that beyond the limits of the country Americans are of no party, and that is true. But it is because Americans of all parties when they get beyond the shore line can find nothing to approve in the foreign policy of Grover Cleveland and nothing to condemn in the

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foreign policy of Benjamin Harrison. Mr. Blaine, who was denounced in 1884 as a Jingo who would bring the country into foreign wars for the promotion of his reckless ambition, is now admitted everywhere to be among our foremost examples of a wise, cautious, temperate, just, and at the same time of a firm, courteous, successful, triumphant American diplomacy. The Democracy may undertake in some general and ambiguous phraseology to deny the advantages of the reciprocity treaties, but it will not undertake to repeal them. It will not venture to change the relations which we have established with the South American republics and the islands, or with Germany, and which will soon be established with France, or to go back to the condition of things which existed in Grover Cleveland's day, without an attempt on his part at improvement. The audacity of a political platform will not venture to find fault with the settlement of the Behring Sea question. On the contrary, foes vie with friends in enthusiastic commendation of the vigor and ability of the Secretary of State and of the President.

Every Democratic vote in the Senate was recorded against the reciprocity clauses of the tariff act of the last Congress. Nothing but disparagement and sneers have been heard from Democratic orators in relation to that policy from that day to this, so far as I have been informed. If the utterances of the Democratic leaders can be trusted to represent fairly the opinion of their followers, this policy will encounter their undying hostility, whether in power or out. Does any intelligent man who looks to a healthy and rapid extension of foreign commerce think it quite safe to intrust this great interest to the Democracy—*quasi agnum lupo ad devorandum?* Under the reciprocity sections of the last tariff act, arrangements have been concluded with Guatemala, Nicaragua, Salvador, Costa Rica, Jamaica, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, Trinidad, Barbadoes, British Guiana, the Leeward Islands, the Windward Islands, and Brazil. These represent a population of 21,500,000 souls and an annual commerce of $500,000,000. Partial arrangements of a like character have been made with France and Germany. More extended ones are still under way. Similar arrangements are in negotiation with other nations. The duties upon sugar, coffee, and hides imported from Venezuela, Colombia, and Hayti have been restored by proclamation of the President.

The value of these treaties must depend, as the value of everything depends under our Government, upon private sagacity and enterprise. It is too soon to calculate the enormous advantage of these

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new relations. But even in their infancy we can see something of their results. Our exports to Brazil have increased more than $1,000,000 in value in the past eleven months, in spite of the disturbed political condition of that country, which has passed through three political revolutions and a serious financial crisis. Our exports to Brazil have gained 20 per cent in eight months in a constantly increasing ratio, although the price of flour in New York fell in that time from 5.43 to 4.57 per cent. The export of flour to Brazil for February increased from $185,551 to $405,469 as compared with last year. The proportion of the imports of Brazil furnished by Great Britain was 71 per cent of the whole in 1890. In 1891 it was 59.11 per cent. The proportion of the United States increased in that year from 8.50 per cent to 14.49 per cent. Our reciprocity arrangement with Cuba has been in force but six months. In that time our exports have increased from $6,895,037 to $10,155,085. Our exports of flour alone to Cuba have increased from $454,693 to $939,154, although, as has been stated, the price of flour has fallen 20 per cent. The arrangement of Puerto Rico has been in force six months also, and our exports have increased from $1,022,780 to $1,310,790, about 33 per cent. The exports of flour have also increased from $433,519 to $517,304 in spite of the fall in price.

The Brazilian Mail Steamship Company, which furnishes transportation between the United States and the ports of Brazil, under the impetus given to commerce by the reciprocity treaties, has been compelled to more than double its fleet, and, being unable to obtain vessels in the United States, has chartered steamers in Norway and Denmark to carry the cargoes. The character of these cargoes may be judged from the fact that even the English and German merchants in Brazil, who so bitterly resisted the reciprocity treaty, are now coming to the United States to purchase their merchandise so as to secure the advantages of free entry at the ports of that republic. The usual sailings of this line from New York until recently were three per month, and there were five steamships in its service, all of them constructed on the Delaware; but within the last few months it has been compelled to increase its fleet to thirteen by charters and is now sending seven and eight steamers a month, fully loaded, to Brazil.

Both the British and French governments are doing everything they can to resist and counteract the efforts that are being made by the United States to secure our proper share of the trade of Central and South America. The commercial papers of both countries have

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been filled for the past year with serious articles reporting the inroads that have been made on their commercial strongholds, and the British Board of Trade has taken formal action by sending a memorial to its government asking the appointment of a commission to report the best means of counteracting what they call the "commercial crusade of the United States." At the annual meeting of the associated chambers of commerce in Great Britain, held in London on the 7th of March, 1892, the president, Colonel Hill, reported that the exports from Great Britain to the Latin-American countries had decreased $23,750,000 during the last year, and that the examination of the details was very unsatisfactory. He said that there was a decrease in almost every item of merchandise furnished by the United Kingdom to the South American republics and to the colonies, which was due not to any spasmodic or temporary conditions, but to the fact that the merchants in those countries were beginning to go to the United States to buy their goods. This was the result, Colonel Hill asserted, of what was known as "the Pan-American policy" in the United States; and in view of the alarming prospect, it behooved England to look more closely after her commercial relations with the South American republics and with her colonies.

We may as well look the facts in the face. No careful observer will doubt that the balance of power in the coming national election will be held by men who have formerly acted with the Republican party, or, if they have come into political life recently, entertain the opinions which the Republican party entertains on almost all public questions, and opinions which the Republican party has always held. If the men who were on the Union side during the war, who supported the constitutional amendments abolishing slavery and giving equality and citizenship to the colored race, who favored the homestead law, who favored the maintenance of a sound currency and the honest payment of the public debt, who favored the national banking system and the resumption of specie payment, who favored the diplomacy which overthrew the European doctrine of perpetual allegiance and the diplomacy which obtained an apology and reparation from Great Britain, or who are now conscious that they would have favored all of these things if they had been voters when they were accomplished—if these men should vote together this fall, the result would be a clear and overwhelming Republican victory. The success of the Republican party is to be imperilled, if it shall be imperilled at all, by men who separated themselves from it upon a single issue—

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that of the tariff. Many of these claim to be in favor of protection, and to differ with Republicans only as to a few matters of detail.

May it not be well for such people seriously to consider what it is that they bring into danger in clutching at this one object of their desire? The political power which they aid in giving to the Democracy for one purpose, it will exercise for every purpose which it desires to bring about. If there be an attempt at a radical change in the tariff, the quiet of the country is to be disturbed until the new legislation is perfected. No man can tell, if the Democratic party should be successful in the coming election, what is to be the extent of the changes in the tariff it will attempt to bring to pass, or upon what principle the new legislation of the country upon that subject is to be based. There must be, therefore, a certain disturbance in all business. No manufacturing or commercial industry will be safe. The great industries on which is dependent the prosperity of citizens and of prosperous towns, the employment of vast numbers of workingmen, the return which is to be received on great masses of capital, can rest upon no assured foundation for at least two years after the election of 1892 if Democracy have its way.

But if the tariff reform is worth accomplishing at such a price, the power of legislation upon all other national questions must also be committed to the Democratic party. The country is to be governed by the representatives of the solid South, of the Democracy of New York, whose political methods have been disclosed in the processes which have established it in power in the New York Assembly, joined possibly by two or three Northern States. Every financial question is to be decided by men and by the representatives of communities whose reflections on the subject of finance have led them to the conclusion that *fiat* money and repudiation and the free coinage of silver are the proper policy for this great, wealthy, and powerful nation, whose principles as to the honesty of elections have borne fruit in processes which have suppressed Republican votes throughout the entire South, and of which Mr. Hill is the most conspicuous and distinguished Northern exponent. The diplomacy of the country is to be managed by persons who like the Fishery treaty of Mr. Bayard and of President Cleveland better than the reciprocity treaties of Mr. Blaine and President Harrison. The authority of the Supreme Court of the United States is to be limited by legislation inspired, perhaps drafted, by the authors of the recent constitution of Mississippi.

What intelligent business man, anxious for the safety of his own

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property, anxious for the prosperity of the community with which he is identified, anxious for the glory and prosperity of the country, can consent, because of a difference of opinion with a majority of the people of the North in regard to a single item of a protective tariff, or in regard at most to two or three such items, or can shut his eyes to the danger of the ascendency in this country of the Democracy of the South? Take the Democracy of the South to-day. They are a sectional party, based on sectional opinions, seeking sectional ascendency. They believe that you, and those who think with you, and those who are engaged in like employments with yours, are monopolists and robbers. To them the desire to keep the currency sound and to keep the financial policy of the United States in harmony with the other nations of the civilized world, is but a desire of creditors and oppressors to impose an undue burden upon the necks of their debtors, and to make ill-gotten gains by extortion from the laboring men of the South and West. They desire in every particular to narrow the just authority of the United States, to limit the jurisdiction of its courts, to confine its legislation within narrow bounds, and to reassert and revive the heresy of State rights. The man whom in their hearts they most applaud is the man who can accomplish the overthrow of suffrage in the North as they have accomplished it in the South. The power which they have usurped, though a minority in their own section, they will gladly extend by a like usurpation over the entire country. And to accomplish that end they are prepared to assume any mask or disguise which they think needful to delude the straightforward simplicity of the people of the North.

On the other hand, the Republican party avows and will pursue its well-known purposes until they are accomplished. It will be ready for the new problems and exigencies which the future will bring with it. But it will adhere steadfastly to the principles upon which it has acted in the past. It will not be frightened by the charge of Bourbonism; a Bourbon in the estimation of the self-styled Independent press is a man who does not change his mind from the time he makes his promise until the time has come to perform it. It can pursue and steadfastly maintain great principles and great policies from generation to generation, while its eyes are ever open to the light, and it is ever ready for the new and varying exigencies of the hour.

GEORGE F. HOAR.

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A NEW POET.

I ONCE heard a well-known editor, who is also an able critic, say: "I read all the books of verse which come to us. Some day I shall light on a thin little volume for which in fifty years the book collector of first editions will give a great price." Another friend, who conducts with brilliant success a great magazine, said to me a year ago: "I am in constant fear lest novelty of form or expression may mask for me the value of some original work in prose or verse." The feeling thus expressed is, I am sure, familiar to those for whom verse at its best is a part of the joy or solace of life, and who, from knowledge of the history of popular appreciation, know how difficult it is for a new voice to win attention. Certain sad histories warn us to beware how we dismiss a singer without full hearing. By God's grace an angel in disguise of print may be waiting in a golden hour to charm with the friendliness of a song which shall surely repay our hospitality. It is, perhaps, a somewhat more daring thing to ask others to see with our eyes the angel whom we have divined at the tent door.

Quite lately an accident threw in my way a little book which has given me much happiness,[1] and I now hasten in the youth of my delight to share my pleasure with others. The time and place of a bit of unalloyed enjoyment have their value in the records of the mind's adventures. I was waiting, in a twilight room, the return of a friend, when, by good luck, I picked up the nearest book, and as I remember, said to myself: "What will it be, verse or prose? Most likely it will be some well-known companion, some old friend." And so reflecting, I opened the little book at a soneti of Shakespearean form apparently upon "Courage." I give it later, and in full, to justify my own courage in asking that these "Day Dreams" be heard.

Since then, I have read the little volume with care, and have also seen a thicker book of verse by Mr. Moore, privately printed in 1883 —"Poems Antique and Modern." This I have read, but not studied. I therefore hesitate as yet to speak of it decisively. Of Mr. Moore's

[1] "Day Dreams: A Century of Sonnets." By Charles Leonard Moore. (Privately printed. Philadelphia: 1888.)

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other work I know nothing. I turn back now to this rosary of sonnets, for which without the least indecision I claim the serious attention of all who love verse. If there be one thing which in recent poetry most exasperates the student, it is the absence of thought. There is no such lack in this century of sonnets; not only is there here often originality of thought, but there is also the ability to present old and much-used theses with such novelty of phrase and illustration as almost to make one disbelieve in the antiquity of the thought.

But to think for man in verse is valueless unless the verse be a better means of statement than any prose can be. This severe exaction is amply met. The echoes dimly heard in Mr. Moore's early book are no longer apparent. The growth is remarkable. Here is a distinct and individual singer. Felicities of phrase abound, but, especially in the sonnet, nothing is more unfair than to pick these jewels from their setting. Sometimes their relation to the whole poem renders this seeming kindness critically unjust; sometimes the very sobriety of the verbal surroundings are such as to make the beautiful flash of illustrative or illuminative phrase more lovely. I have never read sonnets which it was so difficult to dismember for quotation. Mr. Moore has perfectly understood the use of the last two rhyming lines, and no one has known how to employ them better. Like another young American poet, he has, too, a sense of the value in the sonnet of letting the rhyme fall on words of power, and, like him, he knows exquisitely well the beauty of feminine rhymes in the form of verse he uses. Although my reasonable limits do not forbid quotation, I shall, for reasons above stated, refrain from picking out mere lines or phrases; neither shall I trouble my purpose by pointing out the rare failures or the occasional difficulties of interpretation. There are here and there passages which to me are obscure; there are others which I can understand after more study than I like to discover needful as to poetry. But I willingly leave to others the task of fault-finding. I owe this book too much pleasure to find it agreeable to indulge in hostile criticism.

When one can say of a book of a hundred sonnets that it is interesting, that is rare and dangerous praise, for much noble verse is not throughout or consistently of interest. That it is true of this volume lies more or less in the fact that these sonnets make up a connected whole of related parts. I shall try briefly to analyze the argument with such quotation as my space permits, and as is justified by the fact that, so far as the public is concerned, there has been no

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former chance to see these poems. It is fair that I premise by saying of this volume that it belongs to a form of thought-filled verse which would generally be called metaphysical. And although this description must be admitted to be, on the whole, correct, a large part of the book is actually made up of distinct sonnets, which might have been labelled "To Spring," "To Courage," "To the Soul," "To Æschylus," "On Shakespeare," "To Fortune." I could, indeed, miss, without annoyance, some of the more difficult sonnets which perhaps might still please those who are fond of being puzzled needlessly.

The poet in a first sonnet, far weaker than the rest, describes his study, and how he drifts into dreams which become for him realities. In the second sonnet, where I find the exquisite line, "Some bough laden with airy imminence of snow," he wins for his dreams the force of reality, and rejoicing, cries:

> "Then in my hand I hold the master-trick,
> Having and Hope are then alike in hue."

The pretty variation upon Shelley's "The worship for something afar," etc., in VI., will not escape the careful reader:

> "Better perfection mocking thee afar,
> Better eluding footfalls in the air,
> Better the hope and worship of a star,
> Than the home-bringing of the fairest fair.
> Joy may make wild, content may lull each sense,
> Earth be twice windowed in thy lady's eyes,
> But the day comes, and the intelligence,—
> The ghastly horror of a chill surmise,—
> When shall thy love in all her glittering shows,
> Gauds, raiments, actions innocent or rash,
> Seem like the Magi's figure of a rose,
> Reflowering ghost-like from its pallid ash,
> Or like the writing that a space entire
> Gleams on the black, curled paper in the fire."

Life, joy, thought, and love are dealt with in turn. These fine lines are from VII.:

> "Man in Life's stream is like a shaken reed,—
> Silent for all the rivers mouthing it;
> Nothing does he reveal, and nothing keep
> (Ranked ghost-like beckoner to the crinkling sedge),
> Of the stream's purpose, flowing strong and deep
> Past his vague motions in its lapping edge.
> I hear the foreign echoes from the street,—
> Faint sounds of revel, traffic, conflict keen,
> And think that man's reiterated feet

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Have gone such ways since e'er the world has been :
I wonder how each oft-used tone and glance
Retains its might and old significance."

The singularity of the sequent thought in VIII. is interesting enough to make me quote it entire:

" Earth's rocks, in ordered succession ranged,
Are made by Time's impression different.
Being mutability, man bears unchanged
The mark of every age's accident,
So that all long-past shapes do seem to come
In a mistaken habit of to-day,
And each contemporary is at home
Within the crumpled towers of hoar decay;
And thence is Fame's eternal audience,
Which does applaud itself in antique shows,
And at Time's circle mirror burns intense,
Reacting each anticipated pose ;
Thy smile, thy gesture unto Pharaoh known,
Outlives its presentation carved in stone."

The beautiful sonnets on Love, XIV. to XIX., I reluctantly omit to use, only quoting XVIII. for its fine distinctness and simplicity:

" O most pure spirit and subtle being of force,
Dream beyond thought and God beyond all dream,
Why hast thou set thine absolute divorce
Between the separate souls that from thee stream?
Earth's corporate figures each in each may blend
And take each other's image and impress,
Corpled with shadow till the world does end.
But sole the spirit lives, and shadowless,
Unknown its seat, and all its act in doubt.
Its immortal being to itself most strange,
How can it mingle with the world without,
It the one certain thing that shall not change?
This is its doom : to be, O fate perverse,
Prisoned at heart of the free universe.

The poem on Nature, which follows, is tearfully full of sweetness, and, like many of these sonnets, gains by being read aloud, a quality not always belonging even to the best verse. There is quite mysterious tenderness in the final lines.

" Yet if uncaring for the increasing ghosts
That throng and beckon where life's paths descend,
In turn uncared for by the human hosts,
The soul may lean on Nature as a friend.

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Look in her eyes: those shadowed realms are fair.
Cling, closer cling to her deep-cloven breast:
Her cool arms thrill, her eyes do seem to wear
The very secret of the sweetest rest.
Sink, sink to sleep, so choosing to believe
Thou hast a balm for all the hurt without,
A consolation for the thoughts that grieve,
An answer to the unconquerable doubt.
Day shall wait on thee, and the twilight pale,
The stars shall thicken and the leaves shall fail.'

A manly note of the best morality is in these lines to Fortune, and to my thinking there are few finer sonnets:

"Fortune, proud fool! that deemest the heart of man
Waked and won only by thy slight allure,
Know that thy footstep seals those founts again
That else were free, that else were full and pure:
Thou hast Life's keys, and dost command success,—
Success, poor shadow of the soul of hope;
But all thy gain is present weariness
And the gods' laughter from their unscaled slope.
Go, harlot, with thy faces of regard,
Wind-varying for the lovers at thy side,
I am not poor enough for thy reward,
Honor and splendor in my heart abide;
I want thee not, save that thou kneel, and so
Proffer thy service as cup-bearers do."

His demon, Thought, whom he summons, now goes with him, and here and there are some obscurities; but at last we fall on a piece of quite stately English, his address to Thought:

"That which shall last for aye can have no birth.
Thou art immortal! therefore thou hast been
A voyage to which the journey of the earth
Is but the shifting of some tawdry scene.
Thou wert not absent when the camp began
Of the great captains of the middle air,—
Sirius and Vega and Aldebaran,—
Myriads, and but the marshals numbered there;
Ay, earlier yet in the God-purposed void,
The dream and desert of oblivion,
Thou livedst,—a thought of one to be employed
Ere yet Time's garments thou didst take and don:
Guest that no footprint on my threshold leaves,
Speak, O dim traveller, speak: thy host believes!"

At last, with his demon, he finds his way to the star where dwell

"The equal-sceptred Kings of Deed and Song."

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A gentle sonnet to Keats is followed by a ringing poem on Æschylus. I quote it, and also the sonnet on Shakespeare, whose very weapon my poet knows so well to use:

"Then shall I see a giant deity
Rise on the day-appearing pageant's track,
And loose his sounding arrows through the sky
With sudden echo of the string sprung back,
And suns and circling stars and wandering lights
May dawn, may darken, may decay and die;
But those sped shafts, sent in such angry flights,
Blazing about the halls of Night, shall lie.
Then shalt thou turn and say with pallid lips:
'That was the shade of mighty Æschylus;
His intolerable light becomes eclipse,
His fiery eyes shake shadows over us.
Thunders do gird him! Yet but list again,—
Music as soft as slumber-lulling rain.'"

"Then shall we come on one in that vast realm,
Forever idle mid the full employ;
Darkness sits o'er him as to overwhelm,
And at his knees Light stands like some pure boy.
From such converse what secret has he guessed?
None knows! But this thou sayst: 'Amid all strife
He only at the heart of things at rest
Lifts not a hand to turn the wheel of li'
That Shakespeare is,' thou sayest in aw tone.
'Men knew him busy, cheerful, full of mirth;
They did not deem his spirit sat alone,
Judging all beings of an equal birth.
To the pure centre of his mind's true white
Life shakes its diverse hues which there unite.'"

The coming of Spring tempts the wanderer, and, dismissing his demon, he returns to the world of sense. With these wholesome, joyous poems on Spring my difficulties increase. I venture to add his dismissal of Thought:

But when resistless, royal Spring comes on,
I have no need for thee, no, none at all;
The distant echo of her herald horn
Swells in my breast and drowns all other call.
The first, faint token of her presence told,
As, grass new-bladed on some margin field,
Arbutus breaking from its leafy mould,
Or crocus peering from some stony shield,
These lay the ghosts that threaten in my thought,
And bid dreams vanish and the senses live,

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And bring my bride to me, the Spring, long sought,
Who swears and kisses and is fugitive,—
Spring, who makes quick the streams and trees and birds
And puts the eloquence in mortal words."

Solace and joy are his as he joins "the fair divinities of old religion": "the leaf-crowned Thyrsus, — sceptred god, the Maenad train." Among these sonnets are the following to Hymen and to Love. The melody of the first and the prettiness of the second are to my ear and heart alike delightful gifts:

"Hark! hark! below girl voices echo, singing
A ditty of the rose and revel time;
'Hymen, O Hymen, hither we are bringing,
Hard is the way and difficult to climb:
Hymen we bring but struggle to delay her,
A woodland estray innocent of men;
Fain would she bless, but will not we obey her,
Moonlight made girls cold in this forest glen.
Why should we hurry to that hushèd chamber,
Where waits the bridegroom, red and pale in turn?
Without, the dew lies cool where roses clamber;
Within, the torches and the faces burn.
Passion we fear, passion that slays the dream
Born of the fugitive faint moonlight gleam.'"

"Ay, let the world retake the gifts it gave,—
Ease, honor, all its fair-disguisèd harms;
I am content if Love but stay, and have
My world within the rondure of her arms:
Condemned unto no business but to buy
Kisses with kisses, to heap joys amain,—
This is the merriest kind of beggary;
Merchants may envy my quick-counted gain.
Ah, what a weary travel is our act,—
Here, there, and back again to seek some prize;
Friends who are wise their voyage do contract
To the safe path between each other's eyes.
Come, my sweet mistress, love shall life outlast;
Let the world drift, for we are anchored fast."

The returned demon now distresses him anew. He sees the certain mutability of mortal Love, and how the individuality of man sets a limit to perfectness of union. A sonnet to the Soul must be reluctantly left out. The next poem is of singular force. The refined beauty of the opening, and the allusive lines on Christ, or on the Deity, for they may mean either, will, I trust, not escape remark.

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"Again a guess! The dicing moon below
With its cloud-shadows on gray slopes may glance;
May not the soul, as idle-eager, throw
One and another and another chance?
Is it not true, is it not true that He
Who from perfection stooped to halting act,
Who from himself did form his enemy,
Who put in question what he had not lacked,
Fashioned as well the soul of man, to have
Part in the riot and ruin, yet to bear
A higher touch, indomitably brave,
Wings that should weary down the wildest air,
Eyes that should see where light itself does end,
Courage to still attack and still defend?"

His long reproaches and argument with the demon which follow are interesting, and have thoughts and phrases which would make me unwilling to part with what is not as satisfactory as the poem last quoted or the noble sonnet which precedes the final song. The march of verse-clad thoughtfulness grows more and more attractive as w near the close. Even thought proves valueless. He sings its dirge. He knows that the spirit has an existence independent of mind. At last, courage alone is left—

"Still courage keeps my soul. Though baffled, this
Broods like an eagle o'er the blank abyss."

I have already mentioned the sonnet to Courage, which I now give entire. It, too, should be read aloud, to get the force of the rhythmic march and the value of the feminine rhymes:

"O eagle, flown beyond this faded day,
Thy height is won, thou hast thine heart's desire;
A wider ether would thy wings essay,
And the fire in thee sought the source of fire.
Now is the end, now night thy gaze restrainest,
On vacant space thy plumes can beat no more,
Beyond thou canst not, and beneath disdainest,
Thou holdst devoured the deeps thou hast passed o'er.
What is there left? In narrow circles flying,
To wheel forever on this verge of life,
Or solemn-souled and sure, and fate defying,
Sweep in proud splendor past the shores of strife,
Ages on ages hence perchance to fall,
Or to make covert and discover all."

The solemnity of this final declaration of doubt and difficulty is relieved by the adieu, and dedication to his mother. It fitly closes a century of remarkable verse.

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"Adieu, adieu, my dreams! but unto thee
Who art more noble than my Fancy's best,
Let greeting and let recantation be.
My doubt, my embittered thought, thou shamest with old
And sweet content, and thy time-yellowed hair
Makes true the heroic fables we are told,
Makes all the train of womanhood seem fair.
Much do I lack, yet count I honor won,
Or fortune, less than that I am thy son."

The reader who cares enough for true poetry to have read the sonnets here quoted must judge for himself, as a larger world will in future, as to whether I am justified in my belief that we have had here to deal with a poet who may not be as lightly dismissed as the countless small singers who feebly chirp in the hospitable little bird-houses left in the magazines at the foot of the page, where the prose had given out and there was space for padding.

I regret that Mr. Moore has not published these sonnets. Private circulation gives no chance for large critical judgment. His reasons for choosing to avoid the larger public I do not know. Of this, however, I am quite sure: that there is no publisher in America to-day who will venture to take any publication risks on a volume of verse, and this may have influenced the decision I regret. I know the author only by his book; I have never seen him. What I have here said is so said from my eager desire to do justice to literary qualities which should have a ready and a generous welcome. Indeed, I count it among the glad things of life to have been able for once to repay the enjoyment a work of genius has given me, by introducing it to a wider world. This is a rare thing to fall upon, and few of the happier chances of life have better pleased me.

S. Weir Mitchell.

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THE FALL OF SILVER AND ITS CAUSES.

THE use of the "precious" metals, gold and silver, as money, dates from early antiquity, a period antedating historical records. It is known that they were thus used at least 2,000 years B.C. Beautiful and rare, indestructible, homogeneous, and easily divisible, possessing great value in small bulk, gold and silver by a process of natural selection soon became the money of civilized nations. Undoubtedly the cost of producing the precious metals was originally the basis of their measuring value, but their continued use as money metals for so many centuries has given them a value out of all proportion to and having no possible connection with the cost of their production, except as the cost of production affects the amount produced. Gold, being the rarer metal, was originally valued higher than silver.

From an examination of the table on the next page it will appear that from the year 1687 to the end of the eighteenth century the relative value of the two metals did not vary materially from 1 of gold to 15 of silver; that is to say, for a period of one hundred and fourteen years 1 ounce of gold exchanged in the markets of the world for 15 ounces of silver; the extremes being 1 to 14.14 in 1760 and 1 to 15.74 in 1799. From the beginning of the nineteenth century to the demonetization of silver by Germany—that is, from 1800 to 1873—the relative value of gold and silver was even more uniform than in the prior century, being about 1 to 15½; the extremes being 1 to 16.25 in 1813 and 1 to 15.19 in 1859. So that for the entire period of which we have authentic record—a period of nearly two centuries—the commercial value of gold to silver was practically maintained at 1 to 15 and a fraction. This long period of marked stability in the relative value of gold and silver suggests the existence of some steadying influence which has since disappeared. This steadying force was the bimetallic system in operation in France and later in the states of the Latin Union. By the law of 1803, France opened its mints to the free coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 1 of gold to 15½ of silver; that is to say, a silver coin of equal nominal value with a gold coin would contain 15½ times as much pure silver as the pure gold in the gold coin.

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COMMERCIAL RATIO OF SILVER TO GOLD EACH YEAR FROM 1687 TO 1872.

Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio
1687	14.94	1725	15.11	1763	14.99	1801	15.46	1839	15.62
1688	14.94	1726	15.15	1764	14.70	1802	15.26	1840	15.62
1689	15.02	1727	15.24	1765	14.83	1803	15 41	1841	15.70
1690	15.02	1728	15.11	1766	14.80	1804	15 41	1842	15.87
1691	14.98	1729	14.92	1767	14.85	1805	15.79	1843	15.93
1692	14.92	1730	14.81	1768	14.80	1806	15.52	1844	15.85
1693	14.83	1731	14.94	1769	14.72	1807	15.43	1845	15.92
1694	14.87	1732	15.09	1770	14.62	1808	16.08	1846	15.90
1695	15.02	1733	15.18	1771	14.66	1809	15.96	1847	15.80
1696	15.00	1734	15.39	1772	14.52	1810	15 77	1848	15.85
1697	15.20	1735	15.41	1773	14.62	1811	15.53	1849	15.78
1698	15.07	1736	15.18	1774	14.62	1812	16.11	1850	15.70
1699	14.94	1737	15.02	1775	14.72	1813	16.25	1851	15.46
1700	14.81	1738	14.91	1776	14.55	1814	15.04	1852	15.59
1701	15.07	1739	14.91	1777	14.54	1815	15.26	1853	15.33
1702	15.52	1740	14.94	1778	14.68	1816	15.28	1854	15.33
1703	15.17	1741	14.92	1779	14.80	1817	15.11	1855	15.38
1704	15.22	1742	14.85	1780	14.72	1818	15.35	1856	15.38
1705	15.11	1743	14.85	1781	14.78	1819	15.33	1857	15.27
1706	15.27	1744	14.87	1782	14.42	1820	15.62	1858	15.38
1707	15.44	1745	14.98	1783	14.48	1821	15.95	1859	15.19
1708	15.41	1746	15.13	1784	14.70	1822	15.80	1860	15.29
1709	15.31	1747	15.26	1785	14.92	1823	15.84	1861	15.50
1710	15.22	1748	15.11	1786	14.96	1824	15.82	1862	15.35
1711	15.29	1749	14.80	1787	14.92	1825	15.70	1863	15.37
1712	15.31	1750	14.55	1788	14.65	1826	15.76	1864	15.37
1713	15.24	1751	14.39	1789	14.75	1827	15.74	1865	15.44
1714	15.13	1752	14.54	1790	15.04	1828	15.78	1866	15.43
1715	15.11	1753	14.54	1791	15.05	1829	15.78	1867	15.57
1716	15.09	1754	14.48	1792	15.17	1830	15.82	1868	15.59
1717	15.13	1755	14.68	1793	15.00	1831	15.72	1869	15.60
1718	15.11	1756	14.94	1794	15.37	1832	15.73	1870	15.57
1719	15.09	1757	14.87	1795	15.55	1833	15.93	1871	15.57
1720	15.04	1758	14.85	1796	15.65	1834	15.73	1872	15.63
1721	15.05	1759	14.15	1797	15.41	1835	15.80		
1722	15.17	1760	14.14	1798	15.59	1836	15.72		
1723	15.20	1761	14.54	1799	15.74	1837	15.83		
1724	15.11	1762	15.27	1800	15.68	1838	15.85		

In 1865 the Latin Union was formed, by which the French system of coinage—that is, the free coinage of gold and silver at the relative value of 1 to 15½—was made the system of the states of France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, and Greece. The same monetary system was adopted by Spain, although that country was not admitted as a member of the union. Coming, therefore, to the beginning of the year 1873, we find that the relative value of gold and silver was maintained for over seventy years at about 1 of the former to 15½ of the latter. During most of this period (since 1816) England maintained the gold standard, while other countries of Europe maintained the silver standard; and yet through the automatic operation of the bimetallic

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system in France, the relative value of gold and silver did not vary appreciably from the legal ratio established by law in France.

The decline in the price of silver, as compared with gold, commenced in 1873. The relative value of silver to gold since that period has been as follows:

Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.
1873	15.92	1877	17.22	1881	18.16	1885	19.41	1889	22.09
1874	16.17	1878	17.94	1882	18.19	1886	20.78	1890	19.76
1875	16.59	1879	18.40	1883	18.64	1887	21.13	1891	20.92
1876	17.88	1880	18.05	1884	18.57	1888	21.99		

The average price of silver in 1873 was 59¼ pence per ounce (British standard), equivalent to about $1.30 per fine ounce, the exact equivalent of the French ratio being 60$\frac{3}{16}$ pence, or $1.33, per fine ounce. The lowest price of silver was reached on March 28, 1892, viz., $0.85½ per fine ounce, a decline in the brief period of nineteen years of 47½ cents an ounce, or over 35 per cent.[1] Forty years ago, England and Portugal were the only countries in Europe which had the gold standard. Silver was practically the money of Europe. To-day the situation is entirely reversed.

The causes which have led to the decline in the price of silver as measured by gold are readily traceable. After the close of the Franco-Prussian war, Germany, having to organize a monetary system for the new empire, adopted the gold standard, replacing the silver standard which existed in all the German countries; and the silver coins, which had constituted the bulk of the circulating medium of that empire, were demonetized. All silver coins which had previously been issued in the various states of the new German empire were called in, melted into bars, and such as were not used in the manufacture of new subsidiary coins of the empire were sold as bullion. The face value of the silver coins demonetized by Germany was 1,081,742,800 marks ($257,454,000). The effect of this legislation was an enormous increase of the supply of silver bullion, or melted coins, in other countries, followed by a rapid depreciation in the price of the latter metal. Owing to the fact that it became profitable to brokers and exchange dealers to purchase silver in Germany and send it to the mints of the adjoining states, comprising the Latin Union, for coinage into silver 5-franc pieces, it was decided by the contracting parties to the union to limit the amount of 5-franc pieces to be coined by each.

[1] The present price (May 2, 1892) is $0.87½ per fine ounce.

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This, however, did not steady the price, and in 1878 the states of the Latin Union decided to close their mints to the coinage of the legal silver coins. They have not since been reopened.

The action of Germany in demonetizing silver was immediately followed by Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, in the formation by those states of a monetary treaty adopting the single gold standard. In 1875 Holland, which had been on a silver basis since 1847, adopted the "double" standard nominally, at the anomalous ratio of 1 to $15\frac{5}{8}$, but in fact prohibited the coinage of silver, thus practically going over to a gold basis. By the law of September 9, 1876, Russia suspended the coinage of silver. In Austria-Hungary, where the silver standard legally prevails, gold alone has been coined for individuals since 1879. So that for a period of about fifteen years no silver coins of full debt-paying power have been struck for individuals in European mints. The only mints open to the coinage of silver for individuals are those of India, Japan, Mexico, and a few South American countries.

It has been charged that the act of February 12, 1873, known as the act which demonetized the silver dollar in the United States, had an important influence in causing the decline in the price of silver. In my judgment the passage of that act had no appreciable effect on the depreciation of silver. I have not space here to enter into any elaborate discussion of the act of 1873. It will be sufficient to say that at the time that act was passed this country had exclusively a paper circulation, the depreciation of which was measured by gold; that the act of 1873 was the logical sequence of the legislation of 1834–37, confirmed and strengthened by the legislation of 1853, which practically made gold the standard of this country; that in discontinuing the coinage of the silver dollar, the act of 1873 simply recognized an existing fact by dropping a coin which had formed no appreciable portion of our circulation for nearly half a century; and that had not the demonetization of the silver dollar taken place in 1873, it must necessarily have taken place a few years later, or else this country would have resumed specie payments in 1879 on a silver instead of a gold basis.

The monetary equilibrium which had existed for nearly a century between gold and silver was destroyed by acts of demonetization in Europe and by the closing of European mints to silver coinage. Next to the demonetization of silver by European countries, the change by some from the silver to the gold standard, the closing by all of their mints to the coinage of silver, undoubtedly the next important fact

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which has operated to produce a fall in the gold price of silver has been the large increase in the production of silver in recent years.

The annual product of silver since 1873 has been as follows:

Calendar Years.	Fine Ounces.	Commercial Value.	Coining Value.
1873	63,267,000	$82,120,000	$81,800,000
1874	55,300,000	70,673,000	71,500,000
1875	62,262,000	77,578,000	80,500,000
1876	67,753,000	78,322,000	87,600,000
1877	62,648,000	75,240,000	81,000,000
1878	73,476,000	84,644,000	95,000,000
1879	74,250,000	83,383,000	96,000,000
1880	74,791,000	85,636,000	96,700,000
1881	78,890,000	89,777,000	102,000,000
1882	86,470,000	98,230,000	111,800,000
1883	89,177,000	98,986,000	115,300,000
1884	81,597,000	90,817,000	105,500,000
1885	91,652,000	97,564,000	118,500,000
1886	93,276,000	92,772,000	120,600,000
1887	96,124,000	94,031,000	124,281,000
1888	108,827,000	102,185,000	140,706,000
1889	125,420,000	117,268,000	162,159,000
1890	134,380,000	141,100,000	173,743,000
1891	143,550,000	141,827,000	185,600,000

Under ordinary conditions, it is fair to assume that even this large product of silver would have been readily absorbed into the coinage systems of the world; for an increase in the supply of gold and silver or a diminution of their use does not have the same effect in disturbing their market value as in the case of consumable commodities. The precious metals are practically indestructible, and the available stock is the accumulation of centuries, to which the current product is a mere bagatelle. This truth was proven by the effect of the remarkable gold discoveries in the United States and Australia in 1849 and 1851. It was generally expected that the immense amount of new gold thrown upon the world in those years by the enormous increase from an average annual product of $38,000,000 to $140,000,000 would produce a fall in the value of gold; but, on the contrary, this large influx of new gold was readily and profitably absorbed in the currencies of the world. For the same reason it is believed that had the mints of the Latin Union remained open to the coinage of silver 5-franc pieces, the quantity of silver in the shape of melted coins thrown upon the market by Germany, while large, would have been so insignificant when compared with the stock of silver in use as money that it would have been readily absorbed in circulation and have had no appreciable effect in disturbing the price of the white metal.

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But two important factors were simultaneously at work—an increased supply and a reduced demand. As if by the irony of fate, the product of silver increased enormously during the very years that, for the first time, the mints of Europe were closed to silver coinage. To this increased product of the mines was added an artificial product consisting of melted coins offered for sale. The bond between the two metals broken, discarded by the mints of Europe, falling in increased quantities upon a market where there was no actual demand, what more natural than that the price of silver should persistently decline until silver became the football of speculation, despite the large purchases made by this Government, the natural tendency of which was to steady its price? Other causes have operated to accelerate the decline, notably among which may be mentioned the diminution in the Indian demand for silver occasioned by the sale of "council bills." In former years the excess of Indian products exported over the value of imports of manufactured goods was paid for in specie—silver. The East was the natural market for the silver rejected by Europe. But by the sale in London of bills of exchange (commonly called "council bills") drawn by the India Council residing in London on Calcutta and Bombay, payable in silver rupees, to the extent of $70,000,000 annually, a competent remittance was afforded and the shipment of so much silver was displaced.

The net imports of silver into British India and the amount of council bills sold during the last thirty-one English official years (ended March 31 of each year) have been as follows:

Years.	Net Imports of Silver.	Amount of Council Bills Sold.	Years.	Net Imports of Silver.	Amount of Council Bills Sold.
1861.....	$2,523,878	$3,879	1877.....	$35,038,800	$61,784,106
1862.....	4,304,254	5,809,282	1878.....	71,440,220	49,319,325
1863.....	5,945,009	32,321,230	1879.....	19,320,005	67,880,692
1864.....	6,061,806	43,698,839	1880.....	38,299,355	74,271,598
1865.....	4,774,327	33,040,970	1881.....	18,930,685	74,163,888
1866.....	8,843,350	34,060,142	1882.....	26,181,770	89,604,086
1867.....	3,298,423	27,319,490	1883.....	36,401,420	73,584,015
1868.....	2,649,860	20,134,097	1884.....	31,194,265	85,649,451
1869.....	4,074,304	18,033,989	1885.....	35,282,125	66,946,731
1870.....	3,466,605	33,968,764	1886.....	56,500,065	51,212,637
1871.....	446,189	41,090,337	1887.....	34,844,140	54,296,577
1872.....	3,088,674	50,175,265	1888.....	45,307,115	73,220,790
1873.....	338,764	67,834,606	1889.....	45,000,525	69,218,337
1874.....	1,182,272	64,654,752	1890.....	43,798,500	76,890,700
1875.....	22,580,560	52,760,715	1891.....	51,926,717	77,713,304
1876.....	7,543,075	60,294,052			
Totals.....				$670,587,056	$1,630,956,646

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It will be noticed that the sale of "council bills" has increased from less than $4,000 in 1861 to nearly $78,000,000 in 1891. The result has naturally been to counteract the flow of silver to the East. If an English merchant has payments to make in India, where the legal currency is silver, he has the choice either to buy "council bills" or to ship silver bullion. This will be decided by which is cheaper. So that not only does the sale of these bills save the shipping of silver to the East, but the price of "council bills" also practically determines the price of silver in London. This is explained by Mr. Walter Bagehot in his work "On the Depreciation of Silver," page 86, where he says:

"It appears also from the same authority that most of the effect which this great increase in the payment from India to England might be expected to have upon the exchanges was delayed by a simultaneous increase in the payments made from England to India. Till quite recently we have been very largely investing capital in railways and other public works; the funds necessary for these were raised in London and were sent out to India, and so compensated for the increase of the tribute. But now there is no longer any equal transmission of capital to India, and we therefore for the first time feel the effect of that increase. . . .

"The effect was the greater because the government of India must bring their money home from India, and therefore must sell their bills; whereas 'silver,' like any other commodity, may go to many markets and may be held when its price falls. This is the reason of the saying, 'The price of council bills rules the price of silver—not the price of silver that of council bills.' It is the price which the more anxious seller must accept that for the moment predominates, and not that which the less anxious can wait for."

The great underlying cause of the decline in the price of silver has been very accurately and concisely summed up in the report of the Royal Commission on Gold and Silver, 1888:

"The true explanation of the phenomena which we are directed to investigate is to be found in a combination of causes, and cannot be attributed to any one cause alone. The action of the Latin Union in 1873 broke the link between silver and gold which had kept the former, as measured by the latter, constant at about the legal ratio; and when this link was broken, the silver market was open to the influence of all the factors which go to affect the price of a commodity. These factors happen, since 1873, to have operated in the direction of a fall in the gold price of that metal, and the frequent fluctuations in its value are accounted for by the fact that the market has become fully sensitive to the other influences to which we have called attention above."

The effects of the decline in the price of silver are not so easy to state nor so generally agreed upon. It is contended by many that the change in the relative value of gold and silver is due rather to an appreciation of gold than to any depreciation of silver. This question is

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so interwoven with a consideration of the prices of commodities that its discussion must be deferred. Certain it is that, as compared with gold, the purchasing value of silver has declined since 1873 over 35 per cent; and the evils which have resulted from the recent changes in the relative value of the two metals can be as intelligently presented on the supposition that silver has declined as that gold has appreciated. The most obvious evil which has resulted from the changed relations of the precious metals is the violent fluctuations in the rates of exchange between gold-using and silver-using countries.

The course of the Indian rupee (or Indian exchange), equal to 24 pence at par, for a series of years has been as follows:

Financial Years.	Pence.	Financial Years.	Pence.	Financial Years.	Pence.	Financial Years.	Pence.
1860–'61.....	.....	1868–'69.....	23.20	1876–'77.....	20.51	1884–'85.....	19.31
1861–'62.....	23.72	1869–'70.....	23.27	1877–'78.....	20.79	1885–'86.....	18.25
1862–'63.....	23.72	1870–'71.....	22.50	1878–'79.....	19.79	1886–'87.....	17.44
1863–'64.....	23.72	1871–'72.....	23.13	1879–'80.....	19.96	1887–'88.....	16.90
1864–'65.....	23.72	1872–'73.....	22.75	1880–'81.....	19.96	1888–'89.....	16.38
1865–'66.....	23.72	1873–'74.....	22.35	1881–'82.....	19.90	1889–'90.....	16.57
1866–'67.....	23.00	1874–'75.....	22.16	1882–'83.....	19.53		
1867–'68.....	23.19	1875–'76.....	21.63	1883–'84.....	19.54		

Between countries which use the same metal as money there is a fixed par of exchange; between countries which use different metals there is no natural par at present. There can be no question that trade is injuriously affected by sudden alterations in the rates of exchange, and more especially is it injured when such fluctuations are frequent and violent. This was one point upon which the Commission reached a unanimous agreement:

"However much opinions may differ as to the extent of the evil arising from the increased difficulty which a fluctuating exchange interposes, we do not think its reality is open to question. . . .

"Everything which hampers complete freedom of commercial intercourse between two countries or which imposes on it any additional burden is undoubtedly an evil to be avoided or removed if possible."

The fluctuations in the price of silver and the consequent variations in the rates of exchange with silver-using countries, such as India, China, Japan, and Mexico, have frequently of late been so violent in a single day as to wipe out the margin of profit on many large mercantile transactions. It is essential to business between countries with different standards of value that there shall be a stability of exchange, or at least a certainty that exchange can only vary within well-defined limits. Stability in the rates of exchange is the very

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essence of commercial transactions. Especially is this true in commercial transactions on credit.

It is of the utmost importance in all money contracts, among which may be classed sales on credit and loans, that the value of the payment shall be known at least within definite limits. Without this, there is necessarily an uncertainty in trade which it is impossible to eliminate and which deters business transactions and ventures. The merchant who ships a consignment of goods to India or China on what he considers a fair margin of profit is liable to find himself, before payment, a heavy loser owing to fluctuations in the rate of exchange, or in the value of the money used in payment, occasioned by changes in the value of silver. It is true that by the use of exchange banks and telegraphic transfers this evil has been minimized; but the risk to the merchant is inevitable, and there must be large compensating advantages before he will incur such risk. The natural result is and has been a serious hindrance to all business between gold-standard and silver-standard countries.

Another serious evil resulting from the decline in the price of silver is the discouragement to the investment of capital in countries with a silver standard. As long as there was a fixed value between gold and silver, there was no great risk in the investment of capital in silver countries so far as the depreciation of money was concerned; but who is willing to make investments in India and China and expose himself to losses through the depreciation of the money which must form the measure of payment? The result is that surplus capital loses an outlet for its profitable employment, and the development of countries like China and India is retarded.

But by far the most serious evil connected with the decline in the price of silver lies in the growing tendency of civilized nations to discard silver as a money metal of full debt-paying power and limit the money of ultimate redemption to gold alone. Gold is fast becoming, if it has not already become, the measure of value of all commodities and the basis of all commercial transactions. The disadvantages growing out of this changed condition, the narrowing of the basis of credit and the curtailment of the medium of exchange, are so numerous and far-reaching in their results that I cannot attempt to present them in the space of a magazine article. Passing by the great question of the fall in the gold price of commodities, so far as such fall is due to monetary causes, I find that one of the most serious dangers which confronts us is the insufficiency of the supply of gold as a ba-

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sis of the present and prospective business of the commercial world and the consequent disturbances attending its accumulation and movement.

According to a table presented to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures of the House of Representatives—a table compiled from the latest official and other reliable data—the stock of metallic money in the principal countries of the world is, approximately, gold $3,710,000,000, silver $3,940,000,000, a total of $7,650,000,000; so that fully one-half of the business of the world and one-half of the credit of the world rest upon silver. It is seriously proposed—and the tendency of all Europe is in that direction—to demonetize the silver portion of the world's supply of money and throw the burdens of an increasing population and business upon the gold stock. The annual product of gold is only about $125,000,000, of which nearly one-half is used in the industrial arts and manufactures, so that the annual supply for monetary purposes is hardly in excess of $65,000,000. If this plan is carried out, it is the existing stock of gold, then, that, for many years at least, must form the basis of business and credit and serve as the medium of all exchanges. That such a narrowing of the basis of credit and trade is attended by incalculable difficulties and hardships must be apparent. Already monetary panics have been inaugurated (fortunately, they have been temporarily averted) by the withdrawal of gold from European banks by one of the great nations of Europe and by the need of a paltry $50,000,000 to bolster up worthless investments in South American securities.

The demands for gold for these South American countries have been only partially filled, and it has taxed the ingenuity of bankers to prevent large shipments of gold to them. Europe has no gold to spare. She has drawn within the last year large quantities of gold from this country at times when the rate of sterling exchange did not justify such shipments; that is, a premium has been paid for American gold. The transfers of gold from one country to another are attended by serious disturbances in rates of exchange. More than once recently the equilibrium of the money market has been seriously disturbed by the effect of a scarcity of gold, and the rate of discount in London rose in a few months from 2½ to 6 per cent. To insure a permanent supply of gold in Great Britain, the present distinguished Chancellor of the Exchequer has proposed a currency scheme having as its basis the establishment of large gold reservoirs in that country. The struggle for the possession of gold, with its consequent train of financial disturbances, is well under way.

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If fresh demonetizations of silver in Europe take place, which are already threatened, the fall of silver as compared with gold will become so serious that it will be practically an impossibility for European countries which have a large stock of silver coins in circulation to maintain them at par with the gold coins of equal face value. What is to be done by the great banks of Europe which hold large amounts of silver as a reserve for the redemption of outstanding bank-notes? The amount of silver coin held in the vaults of five of the leading banks of Europe, as a reserve against circulating notes, amounts to $450,000,000. It is a well-known fact that the Bank of France redeems its notes in silver, and will not pay out gold in considerable quantities except at a premium.

If gold is to be the sole money of the world, not only will the extension of business and of foreign investments be seriously crippled, but the immense fabric of credit, already top-heavy, is liable to totter. Where is the gold to come from when the states of Europe now having a paper standard resume specie payments? As I write, Austria-Hungary has decided to resume specie payments and adopt the gold standard, and the negotiation of a loan with which to purchase the gold necessary for resumption purposes—and possibly fresh demonetizations of silver—are sure to follow. The truth is, the total supply of the precious metals is not more than sufficient to keep pace with the rapid increase of modern trade. What is to be gained by discontinuing the use of one of the money metals and throwing all the work upon the other? Not stability of value; for as already shown, for nearly a century, when the bimetallic system existed in France, the relative value of gold and silver did not vary appreciably.

These considerations lead to the query, Is there any remedy for the evils which have resulted from the depreciation of silver and the consequent appreciation of gold? No settlement of the present monetary confusion is possible without international action. The solution lies in the adoption of international bimetallism. International bimetallism is eminently practicable and just. To re-establish the link which formerly existed between gold and silver only requires the united action of nations of sufficient commercial influence to maintain it successfully. If the experience of the last nineteen years has proven anything, it is that the value of gold and silver depends upon the monetary use which is made of them. The experience of the first seventy years of this century has demonstrated that both metals can be used as money with greater stability of values than one alone.

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International bimetallism involves two principles:

1. Free coinage of both metals into legal money.

2. Fixing by international agreement the ratio at which coins of either metal shall be available for the payment of obligations.

The interests of Europe in the restoration of bimetallism are identical with those of this country, only greater in degree; and above all other countries England, with her vast commerce and credits and her great silver dependency, India, is most interested. The financial situation of India to-day is serious. What, we may ask, would be the purchasing power of the Indian rupee—of which that great empire possesses over $1,000,000,000 in value, and which is the only legal money of India—but for the efforts of this country to stay the downward price of silver by the purchase within the last thirteen years of over $400,000,000 worth of silver bullion; and what will be the value of this immense stock of silver, and of all contracts payable in silver money, should the United States retire from the market as a purchaser of silver bullion?

The suggestion of an international monetary agreement is not only eminently practical, but the *only solution* of the silver question. It was by the combined action of European nations in discontinuing the use of silver as money that the tie between gold and silver was broken. It will be only by the combined action of nations of sufficient commercial importance to maintain a ratio that the tie will be reunited. We may yet entertain the hope of such concerted action. Eventually the embarrassments arising from the attempt to use one metal alone as the measure of value and the medium of exchange will become so intolerable that commercial nations may find it to their advantage to join the United States in the remonetization of silver. Let us hope that such will be the case. It is worth the effort, and the United States, with its great natural and accumulated wealth, occupies a commanding position in pressing it upon the attention of Europe.

EDWARD OWEN LEECH.

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EDUCATION FOR WOMEN AT YALE.

As I was making a brief visit to the city of Cleveland, Ohio, in the closing days of the year 1890, I gave myself the pleasure of calling upon the late Hon. John A. Foot, who was at that time one of the oldest living graduates of Yale University. After telling me somewhat of his early years he showed me an old paper which had been preserved in his family. It was a certificate bearing the signature of President Ezra Stiles, in the year 1778, which was given to one of the women in his ancestral line when she was a girl of about thirteen. The certificate stated that she had been examined in the studies preparatory for admission to Yale College; that she had passed the examination creditably and successfully; and that there was only one reason why she could not be received as a member of the freshman class. That reason was that she was a girl.

There were some young girls and some young women, even in those days, who entered into or moved along the pathway of the higher education by reason of the inspiration of their own minds. But the doors of the colleges did not open easily to them, and the encouragement of public sentiment was not given to their efforts. The boys had the field almost exclusively to themselves, and continued to have it for long years afterward. It required almost a century to waken thought, and overcome the inherited prejudice of ages, and introduce sweet reasonableness as to the matter into the minds not only of men, but even of women. The old certificate was laid aside tenderly by the young girl in her first satisfaction that it was hers; it grew old as she grew old; it fell asleep, as we might almost say, when she fell asleep at the end, and then it waited for the future. By and by the thought of the world began to move. The light with reference to the meaning of education and the meaning of life for the mind of women, as well as men, shone out of the darkness more and more. Institutions arose for the teaching of women in the larger and higher studies. Avenues were opened for their efforts and their success, after they had, through the teaching, been prepared for their work. Rewards were offered along the way and at the end, even as they had always

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been offered to men. And so when the century had come to its end, and yet twelve years more had gone, the old certificate, as I saw it, seemed to have found a sort of fulfilment and new realization of its hope and purpose in these far-off later days.

It is a noteworthy fact, in the history of this progress of thought and realization which has marked the century, that within six years after this little certificate was written by President Stiles, the distinguished man who was destined to become his immediate successor in the presidency of Yale College established a school at Greenfield Hill, in Connecticut, a very prominent object of which was to give young women an education on a level with that offered to young men. This school was one of the best in the country, and its results in the education of many gifted and excellent women were remembered long after the school itself had ceased to exist. The first President Dwight was one of the most successful and eminent educators whom our country has known. The testimony to this effect is too universal to leave any doubt respecting the fact. The movement which he initiated at Greenfield Hill with reference to the education of young women was in accordance with a thought and sentiment which he carried in his mind throughout his career. He was a full believer in the powers and capacities of women. Well he might be so, for his mother was a daughter of the elder Jonathan Edwards and inherited from him remarkable intellectual gifts. Dr. Dwight's broad-mindedness was nowhere indicated more manifestly than in this confidence in the mental ability of women and the accompanying desire to secure for them the best educational opportunities.

The time, however, was not ripe for any further advances in the line of such opportunities. Even the schools which might attempt what he had attempted in his own institution were beyond the ideas of the age. The establishment of colleges for the higher education of women was scarcely dreamed of as a propriety or a possibility. The sphere for women was still a narrow one, almost hopelessly narrow. Indeed, there were but few who wished, even in the moments of their largest outgoing of desire, to have it widened. The thought of the world moves very slowly in such matters, and it is only after a score or two of years have passed that the reality of the movement becomes manifest. The old certificate, in the later years of Dr. Dwight's administration, would have had little significance for the minds of his colleagues or contemporaries; it would have been simply a curiosity, with no suggestion for the future and no pointing to any change or

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progress. The believers in the higher education for women were few. They had little opportunity for communion of thought with others—there were no others, or almost none, to commune with. The good president passed down his thoughts to his children and his grandchildren, but they did not go out very fruitfully into the world's thinking.

It was many years after his career and work were ended before the great movement of thought began. But the thought-forces had been silently working in many minds, and, as is so often the case in the advances of the world's life, the preparation was far more solid and strong than it had seemed to be. The earlier steps in the movement, so far as college education is concerned, were taken in the newer States of the West. In many cases, no doubt, this was due to the fact that preparatory education and college education were, by reason of the early necessities of those States, united in the same institution. If the daughters, therefore, were to be educated at all, it seemed necessary to educate them with the sons. But no such necessity existed in the Eastern States, and no such steps were thought of or approved. Public sentiment at the East, forty years after President Dwight's death, was still very sceptical as to the suitableness of establishing colleges for women. It was not until Vassar College was founded, in 1861, that men began to tolerate such institutions in their thinking, and most men even then doubted the wisdom of the founder of that institution or the possibility of its success. That a young girl, especially a young girl of one of the families of higher station, should go to a college for education seemed a strange thing and a thing of questionable expediency. Was not such education, so like that proposed to young men, outside of the sphere to which she belonged? Would her physical system endure the strain of such exhaustive study? Would she not become wearisome as a learned woman and lose her feminine charm? Might she not possibly, if she were thus educated, like to do something for herself in the world? Mr. Vassar was doubtless a most praiseworthy man in view of his benevolence, but was not the wisdom of his plan questionable? The future had to answer these questions, and the doubters were many.

The great movement, as I have called it, may be said to have begun—at least in the Eastern section of the country—when Mr. Vassar's gift was made. That was thirty-one years ago. Every intelligent person has been thinking upon the subject of the higher education of women, more or less, since then; everybody has been watching, more or less, the progress of the women's colleges and the results

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accomplished by them for women's lives. The old certificate, if we may so express it, has been found to be very suggestive. It is interesting to look over the thirty-one years and observe what has been realized. Several large institutions of the order of Vassar College have been established, and have already attained a considerable age and a wide reputation. All of them, like Vassar College itself, are crowded with students. Their graduates are commending themselves by their excellent education and the good work which is the result of it. Their teachers are growing in scholarship and in ability as teachers. They are also commanding respect from the best teachers and scholars who visit their institutions. The doors of entrance to the higher employments of life have been more and more widely opened to educated women, because such doors cannot remain closed where education demands the opening.

But there is something beyond this which has been realized, and something of still greater moment. The main question in dispute has been settled in these years. There may be lingering doubters here and there who question as their fathers did, but they are left now to their own thinking. That women should be educated and may be educated with the higher education is the voice of the thoughtful world to-day, and the voice is becoming stronger every year. There are many persons, indeed, even now, who do not place the foundation idea of educated life where it should be placed, and who question, therefore, whether it is as important for a woman to be highly educated as it is for a man, or whether she ought to be educated after the same manner. But the world is on the side of the women in the great matter now, as it was not in the former days. The steps forward are steps which can never be retracted. The freedom of knowledge has become a birthright for the young girl, as for the young boy, if she will take it in its blessing to herself. And the boy will lose it, even as she will, if he will not thus take what it has for him in its gift.

The questions which present themselves to us in the Eastern section of the country now—and, for that matter, in the Western section also—are questions that are subordinate to the main one, or follow after it in the order of thought, if not of time. They are questions as to how, and where, and under what conditions the higher education should be secured for women, and not as to whether it should be secured to them at all. When the discussion has reached this point the great end is already attained, and the subject may be considered with a judicial calmness on either side, rather than with that excite-

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ment of spirit which pertains to the struggle for the most valuable privileges or rights. It may well be a ground of satisfaction to all that this stage has been reached.

In the matter of deciding these subordinate questions, different courses in the recent past and in the present have suggested themselves to the educators of the country. In some cases it has been held to be entirely inexpedient to bring young women and young men into the same institution during the years which are usually included in the college or university life. Many thoughtful persons have held so strongly to the old and long-established idea of two widely separate spheres for the two sexes in the after-years as to demand for the two altogether separate schemes of education. Or they have believed that young women would be placed, by reason of the weakness of their physical system, or possibly of their mental power, at a disadvantage if they were brought into comparison or competition with young men. Or they have been persuaded that the free association of young persons of the two sexes, such as pertains to college life, must be attended with dangers and evils, which it is for the well-being of all alike carefully to avoid. To the view of this class of persons—and they are a class of such numbers and respectability that no one may properly treat their views with disrespect—the proper solution of the whole matter is found in the establishment or carrying forward of one set of institutions for young men and another for young women. Let the two be in different places, with different sets of instructors and different arrangements of many sorts—and, as some would have it, different schemes and plans of study. Let no man enter the woman's college as a student, and, after the same manner, let no woman enter a man's college. There can be no doubt that the ends which such persons desire to accomplish, both in the positive and negative line, are realized by the plan which they maintain and defend. The only affirmation which can be made by those who oppose their method of solving the question is that such exclusion on both sides tends to defeat other ends which are quite as important as those secured by it. Whether it does have this tendency is a question which it does not pertain to my present purpose to attempt to answer, since my only desire is to state different opinions and plans.

Other persons, who have an altogether different way of thinking, and have had, perhaps, quite a different experience, as they have been familiar with what are called coeducational institutions, fall back, in their judgments and their affirmations respecting the subject, upon the

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facts which they declare themselves to have known. I do not propose in any way to make their affirmations my own, or to advocate what they advocate—the coeducational system. Let me simply, as in a review of opinions, give what they say. They assert that in the institutions where coeducation has been tried for years, especially in the Western States, it has proved itself a complete success. The evils which are spoken of as likely to occur or which are feared—so they maintain—have, none of them, occurred. If they have not occurred, the experiment has been of long continuance enough, they say, and under circumstances and conditions varied enough, to determine the question beyond further reasonable dispute. Why keep up a perpetual discussion, they ask, when all the abundant evidence is on one side? Why refuse to test the matter in a new place by a new trial of coeducation, when every past trial has had the same result? Such persons also willingly enter into all the details of the subject, and hold themselves ready, not only to deny, but also to disprove each one of the affirmations of those whom they oppose. They maintain that there is no overstraining of the young woman's powers, whether mental or physical, by reason of immediate competition in studies with young men; that there are no serious evils connected with the association of the two in undergraduate life; that however different the spheres of life for women and men oftentimes are, there is no difference of such a character as to render the college training which is fitting for the one unsuitable to the other. Look at the colleges where young men and young women have been educated together, they say, and settle the question for yourselves. The answer to all this which is offered is that the experiments have, at the most, been only partial and local; that the evidence is not so universal and uniform as is maintained; and that the objections to the system are such as relate to the best interests of both young men and young women.

There are yet other persons who place themselves on a middle ground between the two parties already described. These persons have favored the idea—and in some cases have carried it out to its realization—that young women should be educated in the college years near young men, but not fully with them. They have attempted to solve the question by establishing in connection with the college what is sometimes called an "annex," or by establishing a separate college for women by the side of the college for men. The relation of the "annex" or the second college to the main institution has been close, but each has been in a large measure independent of the other.

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The close relation has in some cases consisted in the fact that teachers and professors pertaining to the main institution have given lectures or other instruction to separate classes in the annex. In other cases, members of the college for young women have been permitted to attend the lectures of certain professors, in the main institution, which are given to the young men. The two classes of students have thus been, to some extent, brought together for the same exercises, or under the same teachers, but they have been members of separate colleges, having comparatively little to do with each other.

Those who have taken this intermediate position and have realized the results indicated have certainly accomplished much good. They have fully satisfied the views of a very considerable section of the educated classes, and have secured highly valuable instruction for many young women earnest for study and ready for every mental effort. But they have naturally failed to satisfy either of the two parties between whom they stand. They have gone too far for the one party and not far enough for the other. They have met the fate of all persons who stand upon middle ground. "Why should we violate the laws of life with regard to the sexes?" says the one party. "The two should not be brought together at all in the college years. Educate both, if you please, and as far and as widely as is fitting; but educate the two separately." "Why let the two come so near together," says the other party, "without allowing them to come yet nearer? If you escape, by this means, a part of the fancied dangers, you lose a much greater part of the benefits. An annex or a secondary college cannot give, and will not even profess to give, more than a fraction of the advantages which the college itself offers and affords to its own membership." "A half-way plan is always a bad one," say both parties alike. "It has no solid foundation on which to rest, and cannot have permanent continuance or satisfying results."

The recent movement at Yale University is of a different character from any of those which have followed upon the views or plannings of the several classes of thinkers and educators to whom reference has been made. The authorities of this university have not attempted, in connection with their action, to decide the question of the best possible method of carrying forward undergraduates' education for the two sexes under all circumstances. They have observed and considered the existing facts, and in view of them have taken what they believe to be a desirable course for all the highest interests in the case. The decision to which they have come is to open the graduate or, as

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they are frequently called, the post-graduate courses of study leading to the degree of doctor of philosophy to candidates of both sexes. These candidates are to be graduates of colleges, or in exceptional cases, by special permission, other persons of liberal education. The number of such exceptional cases in the past has been very small, the whole body of students in these courses, substantially, being college graduates. No others have been admitted whose progress and attainments have not been ascertained to be abundantly sufficient to qualify them for pursuing the studies, and also for pursuing them on equal terms with their associates who have obtained the bachelor's degree. The young women, accordingly, who will be received, will be of an age and at a stage of development and progress which are beyond the undergraduate period. They will be, like the young men of the graduate department, persons who are giving themselves to special studies much after the same manner as professional students who devote themselves to the work of the professional schools. They will thus be persons of serious purpose who have the true ends of the higher education in view, and intend faithfully and earnestly to do what may be necessary for the realization of these ends. For such persons, whether young men or young women, the privileges of the graduate department of the university will hereafter be open.

The action of the university will accordingly secure for the graduates of the colleges for young women the opportunities and advantages which such an institution of learning, in its graduate or post-graduate department, affords—one of the largest and oldest institutions in the country. There will be no competition with these colleges for women in their own special field, and no establishment of what may be regarded as courses in every sense parallel with theirs. The action will involve nothing which can in any way interfere with or stand in opposition to their work; but it will have the tendency, in all respects, to help and supplement what they are doing. The university will, as it is believed, be brought into the best sort of co-operation with the best of these colleges in promoting the cause of the highest education of women. This result will be accomplished, also, without incurring any of the dangers or possible evils which, to many minds, appear to be attendant upon the union of young men and young women in undergraduate classes.

The opportunities and advantages which will be afforded to those who may avail themselves of them will be manifest to all reflecting persons. An institution like Yale University, by reason of its long-

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continued growth, its honorable history, its large resources of various kinds, its body of able professors, and its valuable libraries, must, of necessity, be one of the best places for study which can anywhere be found. The graduate student who pursues his studies in such an institution abides under the most favorable influences for his intellectual life, from the beginning to the end of his graduate course. He has everything at command which may stimulate his energy and kindle his enthusiasm; he is surrounded and impelled forward by an energetic and enthusiastic company of fellow-students; he comes into the happiest and most helpful relations in the matter of studies with the teachers who are competent to do for him all that he needs; he has all facilities for the investigation of special subjects and the preparation of these under the wisest guidance and advice. The securing of such advantages for the graduates of the colleges for women must, in the judgment of the authorities of Yale University, be a good whose value can scarcely be overestimated, and at the same time a good upon which no counterbalancing or appreciable evil can be attendant.

More than one hundred courses of instruction in advanced studies are offered to graduates for the next collegiate year in the several departments of psychology, ethics, and philosophy; political and social science and history; Oriental languages and biblical literature; classical philology; modern languages and literatures; natural and physical science; pure and applied mathematics; the fine arts; and music. These courses extend very widely over the different departments of study to which they relate. They present, accordingly, to students having every variety of aim and purpose in educated life, that which will be adapted to their wants and will give them the facilities for preparing themselves with greater thoroughness for the work of future years, whatever this may be. The instruction in these courses is given partly by lectures, partly by recitations and by oral and written discussions, partly by directing courses of reading, and partly by other special work on the part of the student. The variety in the methods of instruction is such as will best satisfy the demands of the subject investigated, and will most advantageously meet the requirements of the student at different times or different stages of his progress.

The education which pertains to these graduate or, if they be so called, these post-graduate courses may be special, or it may be general. The student may fitly enter upon these courses after he has taken his bachelor's degree, for the purpose of making himself more ready for the work of a teacher in the school or the college, or for

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some literary or scientific pursuit, or as aiding himself, in a more or less indirect way, in his preparation for professional life. But he may also, with equal fitness, devote the years immediately following his college graduation to these courses for the general education which he will gain from them. We are entering upon a period in the history and development of our country, it is to be hoped, in which a much larger number of educated persons will be largely and widely educated than ever before. The cultured classes will be abundantly cultured, and men of the best minds and best opportunities, whatever may be their profession or business, will give themselves, in due measure, to learning outside of their own particular sphere, as well as within it. One of the most interesting features in the plans for graduate courses here referred to is to be observed in connection with this fact. One or two years of most liberalizing and helpful study are opened by them for those who can give the largest amount of time to general culture. These years will secure for such students results which will make all their subsequent life happier and richer and more useful.

The presentation of these opportunities to young women, after they have finished their undergraduate studies, will be of great service to them if they are to become teachers or to engage in other professional work. A very considerable proportion of the young women who take these courses will, no doubt, have the purpose of becoming teachers. No better opportunities of preparation for the teaching office can be found than those which are thus afforded. That it is of the highest importance to the schools and colleges for women, in the future, that the women who shall be employed as teachers in them should be most thoroughly qualified and educated for their work cannot be questioned. The success of these institutions, in the best sense of the word, must be dependent on such qualification. Their success will have the greatest significance for the coming era. It may well be considered, therefore, as a happy circumstance that the university offers its privileges, so far as these graduate courses are concerned, to young women at this time.

But for the purposes of the less special and more general education to which reference has been made, the opening of the courses is a matter of even greater interest. The higher education of women in the lines of general culture is especially to be desired. Such culture for them means culture in the homes of the educated classes. It means education for the children of such homes in the earliest years, and healthful intellectual influence for them before the schools can begin

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their work. That the home influence for the mind, as well as for the character, is a matter of prime importance to the national life, is beyond question. It is for this reason, as one among the chief reasons, that the best education for women is to be desired. Doubtless the proportion of young women who, in availing themselves of the privileges thus offered, will do so with no intention of entering upon any profession or special work in life will be larger, as compared with the whole number taking the courses, than in the case of young men. But this will only signify, at the most, that the graduate courses open to both alike will do for each the work and afford for each the benefit which will especially pertain to the sphere of each.

By the action which is thus taken, the university does not propose to introduce changes in the undergraduate life, or to institute any new system which will, in any sense, establish what is called coeducation. The college is to be hereafter, as it has been heretofore, a college for young men. The purpose is only to open to graduate students who are further on in age and studies than college students, the opportunities for advanced work under the peculiar advantages of the university. It may well be doubted whether our oldest institutions should go further than this—even if it should be admitted that institutions which are much younger may properly do so. The old university cannot always do what the young university can; it is a part of the privilege, as well as of the necessity, of an old university, even as it is oftentimes of an old family, that it cannot. The traditions and inheritances and customs and influences of many sorts which pertain to a historic life of two centuries bear with them the blessing of limitation, as well as manifold other blessings. It is a glory belonging to what is old that it has such limitations. It is a part of the priceless gift of time. The new university, which is founded to-day, may adopt any plan for its life or its work; it may change its purpose with the rapid changes of public thought; it may gather to itself its students according to any method which may commend itself to its authorities, and may let them go forth after a longer or a shorter term of study as may seem best for its immediate interests. It may do many such things because it has no relation to its own past, or rather because it has no past of its own in relation to which it can stand. The old university cannot act with the same freedom. In many respects it cannot change in a moment. It is a happy thing for education and for educated men that it cannot.

The true life of a historic institution lies very near to this limita-

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tion of possibility. The education of a man is not simply derived from the lessons which are taught him by his instructors, or from his converse with men whom he meets in his daily walks, or from the influence of the spirit of the times. If he is of an ancient and honored family in which educated men and women have lived in the successive generations, and along the line of which thought has moved from father to son, what he receives as an heir of the times gone by is a life-power for him equal to any other or to all others that he can know. So it is with the college student in an old university. He is the heir of the ages, and the inheritance which he has is the foundation of his best manhood. It is the richest and greatest of all possessions. To separate him from the inheritance is to deprive him of what is noblest in his educated life. University freedom, it may well be remembered, is not the freedom to begin a new plan of living with every new year; it is not a freedom to ignore or set aside all that is past. It is far different from this. In a historic university it is rather the freedom of a growing life, which belongs as truly to the past as to the future, and for which the future can never have its truest development except as the union with the past is unbroken.

But the old university, like the old family, may nevertheless move onward in its history and grow with the progress of time and the movement of thought. Its growth, however, should only be in the line of the true development. It should be a growth in continuous union with the past, though toward the larger life of the future. The growth of an institution like Yale University is after this manner. It has developed, through the years and generations which have passed since its foundation, from a collegiate school into a college, and from a college into a university. It has taken into itself new and larger life continually, but has never become, in the full meaning of the words, a new thing. It is to-day, in its life-giving spirit, what it was in the early days. But as it is more than it was then, so there are spheres of its living in which changes may come, even as they have come at different stages of its history. The university is wider than the college. It opens its doors to older students and to those who are nearer to the work and seriousness of maturer years. It gathers within its limits a membership which has wide differences in its pursuits and purposes, and which is thus divided, as to the daily life of the individuals composing it, in a sense and measure that are unknown in the undergraduate college. The common intellectual spirit pertaining to the place and pervading its atmosphere unites the member-

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ship in one university life. But the intimacies of association and the freedom and familiarity which are incident to the every-day meetings of a hundred or two hundred enthusiastic youths who are bound together in a college class, are of necessity unknown.

The university in its higher departments or its later courses of study exists, as truly as the college does, for the higher education. But its purpose is to educate its members more in their intellectual life alone, and as individuals, while the college takes the growing youth to itself and gives him, in the happy years of his connection with it, not only mental and moral education, but that wonderful influence of the class life and its friendly associations which is remembered so joyously in the after-time. The college student is a youth moving along the delightful path which leads from boyhood to manhood. The graduate student is a man who, though only beginning his manly life perchance, is yet looking immediately to life's work and planning for his own best preparation for that work.

While it may be well, therefore, for the best of all reasons, or for all reasons when taken together, to bring no changes or introduce no completely new element into the life or membership of the undergraduate college, and especially of the old historic college, the university in its graduate courses and its graduate life may offer its privileges to all who shall prove worthy of them and shall desire, by means of what they afford, to secure the largest culture for themselves. Such an offer from the university, with such an opening of its doors, is no contradiction of the past; it is only a new manifestation of the old life, a new outgoing of the old spirit. The old life and spirit were the life and spirit of freedom which made the institution a home of education and learning for all to whom its doors could be wisely opened.

And so, if I may close as I began, the old certificate, after these hundred years and more, has found its realization in a better way than the young girl to whom it was given thought of, and in the possibility of a higher sphere of study than was within her vision or that of the worthy president who signed it.

TIMOTHY DWIGHT.

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THE TRAINING OF BOYS AT ETON.

MR. FROUDE, in an epigrammatic passage in the "Life of Lord Beaconsfield," speaks of liberty in the modern sense as being "liberty where the rights of man take the place of the duties of a man." It is liberty in the old-fashioned sense that English public schools aim at cultivating; the liberty that coexists with the duties of the individual and keeps his rights in the background—liberty, instinctive rather than mechanical, real rather than theoretical.

I venture to take Eton as the most typical of English public schools, though it perhaps differs more from the majority of these institutions than they do from each other; but at Eton the tendencies and principles which underlie the English public-school system have their fullest and freest development and are seen in their most ideal form. Eton is singularly free from limitations. At Winchester, in many respects one of the most typical of English schools, in antiquity and tradition perhaps preëminent, the comparatively small numbers present the experiment on altogether a lesser scale; at Harrow there is a want of local dignity and a somewhat fortuitous prestige; Rugby is rather overlooked by its past—it is somewhat cramped by an unconscious but perpetual reference to the shadow of Arnold; Marlborough is by its constitution obliged to be more directly utilitarian; Clifton is not primarily a boarding-school; Wellington College is too predominantly military in tendency; Charterhouse has broken with its past; Westminster has lost it; Haileybury has hardly a history; Uppingham is the efflorescence of individual genius.

It has been said that Eton is too large for coherence. But the only test of coherence can be the personal acquaintance of a headmaster with his boys; and the moment that the numbers of a school rise above two or three hundred, this becomes impossible, except in the case of men of such dominant personality as Arnold or Thring. Eton is certainly not too large for a public opinion of its own, most minute in its ramifications, and even pressing rather too hardly, it may be thought, upon originality, while those who are at all intimately acquainted with the organization of the place see no reason why a

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still larger number than the thousand which it has lately reached should not successfully be governed on the same lines. It is true that at Eton there is no building where the entire school can be assembled at any one time, and this would be a desirable addition to it; but the school has met on more than one occasion lately in the open air without difficulty.

Eton and Winchester, together with Westminster, differ somewhat in constitution from other English public schools. In these three cases the nucleus of the constitution was originally a college "of sad priests," as the old documents say. At Westminster it was the dean and prebendaries, at Winchester the warden and fellows, at Eton the provost and fellows. Westminster remains intact; the school is still a mere adjunct of the collegiate church, but at Winchester and Eton the public-school commission has within the last thirty years abolished the original college. The warden and provost remain and reside within the college; in both cases they are presidents *ex officio* of the new governing bodies, which consist in each case of a certain number of eminent persons nominated by state officials and learned societies. The provostship of Eton is in the gift of the Crown; but for many years, with only an occasional exception, the headmaster has been nominated to the office upon the decease of the provost.

The provost, therefore, exercises a certain control "over," though not "in," the place. The management of the religious worship of the college is practically in his hands: he shares the appointment of preachers in the college chapel with the headmasters, and with his previous experience in the government of the school is always at hand as a valuable counsellor; in practical matters of organization and discipline he does not interfere with the action of the headmaster, yet as chairman of the governing body, any plans of reform must pass under his sanction. But the headmaster is for practical purposes an autocrat, though controlled generally by the governing body. Governing bodies are comparatively modern institutions; perhaps they have not existed long enough for us to form an ultimate judgment upon them. But the difficulty of getting ten or twelve eminent public men, a judge, a bishop, heads of Oxford and of Cambridge College, members of Parliament, and peers to meet frequently enough to consider in detail the needs and claims of a school seems almost to counterbalance the advantage of having men of first-rate eminence to preside over the fortunes of an institution which must adapt itself with great rapidity to the swift currents of nineteenth-century opinion.

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The headmaster has the absolute right of appointing and dismissing his assistant masters, who are, however, invariably addressed by him as his "colleagues." He thus presides, as at Eton, over a college, so to speak, of some sixty graduates, of whom most will have been appointed, as the years go on, by himself. He holds two formal meetings of masters in every half-year, at which questions of any kind that affect the discipline or morals or organization of the school are discussed, any master being at liberty to place a subject upon the paper of *agenda;* but besides this, there is at Eton an informal meeting of masters daily, lasting from ten to twenty minutes, so that every master has the certainty of being able to find any of his colleagues with whom he has any business to transact, and the advantages of the plan are obvious. At most public schools the junior masters and the masters who do not hold boarding-houses live on the collegiate system with a common room for meals, primarily, no doubt, from motives of economy; but there is no such system at Eton, the junior masters either living in hired lodgings in the town or combining two or three together to take a house within the college precincts.

At Eton there is no central building where the majority of the boys are lodged. The seventy "King's scholars," the number typical of the seventy Disciples, as the twelve fellows of the twelve Apostles, are housed in the college itself in a new wing, the old "long chamber," the scene of a rude and boisterous life until the middle of the present century, having been partitioned up into rooms. These boys are admitted by competition, there being generally some seventy or eighty competitors for ten or a dozen vacancies. They are boarded and lodged at the expense of the college, their tuition fees are paid, and thus the expenses of a colleger are inconsiderable. These boys wear in public the gown of the old foundation, and in many ways they are a distinct clan, though the old sense of inferiority which used to hang about them has partially died out, from the fact that socially they are now drawn from the same clan as the "oppidans" or town-boys. A similar body exists at Winchester with traditions in many respects identical. Their importance in the fortunes of the school is great; there is a singular tradition of close study among them, and it is to them that nearly all the highest academical honors won by Eton fall. They practically govern themselves on a species of monitorial system; there is a master attached to and resident in the college, but he never interferes in disciplinary matters unless invoked, and is more in the relation of an elder friend than a master.

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As vacancies occur, masters in order of seniority are presented to the various boarding-houses, though the headmaster has now the power of passing over any man if he thinks fit. Some of these houses are modern buildings erected by the college; some of them are old houses adapted, and not always well adapted, to their present use; some belong to the non-resident lord of the manor, some to private owners. The numbers in the boarding-houses are about forty, and it is in this boarding-house system that the Eton principle of government by division, "*divide et impera*," is most clearly seen. Within his own boarding-house a master is practically supreme; as a rule, a monitorial power devolves upon the captain of the house, the senior boy, but it is rarely used, and depends to a great extent upon the character of the individual who exercises it. In a boarding-house the boys are generally supplied with breakfast and tea in their own rooms, with liberty to add what delicacies they like to an otherwise frugal meal. They dine together at two and have supper together at nine; shortly after this prayers are read and the boys disperse to their rooms, every boy, except in the case of brothers, having a room of his own. It is customary then for the master of the house to make a tour of inspection, visiting every boy individually, seeing that his work is done, talking about any incident that may deserve a few words, and ready to be consulted on any point. The relation of a boy to his house-master is a very close and pleasant one, and nearly always on the part of the boys both affectionate and loyal; it is the rarest thing to find a boy criticising his house-master with severity, either while he is at Eton or after he has left it.

There is generally a matron attached to every house, who looks after the health of the boys. The matrons are, as a rule, ladies of education and refinement. It is a very important post, as, in the case of bachelor masters, the matrons have practically the entire control of the household management, the servants, and the provisioning of the boys. Disciplinary disturbance in a house is now practically unknown at Eton; the government of houses is of course more strict in some cases than in others, but the fact that a house generally contains boys of all ages from nineteen to twelve makes the control easy. The elder boys, "uppers" as they are called, keep the lower boys in order in their own interest; and the responsibility which they thus acquire makes it rarely necessary for any stringent authority to be exerted over themselves. This familiarity between masters and boys is of a comparatively late growth; there are plenty of people now

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alive who remember being in houses where no conversation was allowed at dinner or supper, but now conversation between the boys themselves and the house-masters is of the most natural and easy description. Consequently, relations being so confidential as they are, a master has opportunities of learning about the character and disposition and actual doings of the boys under his charge without the least suspicion of espionage; they "force themselves upon the ear," and the result is the extraordinary increase of what may be called "humanity" which has taken place between the boys themselves and between the boys and masters even within the last twenty years, the point to which the recollections of the present writer carry him. The most marked instance of this is the practical disappearance of what was so characteristic a feature of public schools in the past—"bullying." It is no longer necessary to reassure anxious mothers on this point; petty persecutions and irritations, sharp criticisms and mere physical encounters, still, of course, occur, and it is right that they should do so. "Ground in yonder social mill, we rub each other's angles down." But of systematic arrogance, with the rare exceptions perhaps of boys of ludicrous eccentricity and of deliberate and wanton cruelty, there is little trace, and if a master is vigilant there need be none.

Each house is a singularly united society. The games of each are united for purposes of numbers with some two or three other houses; their work is in common; their whole life is lived together. Of the special arrangements of work which make the life at Eton so particularly sociable I shall speak presently; but the *esprit de corps* of a house is a feeling which exists long even in later life. An old boy comes down for a game of football, and naturally spends his day in the old house, sharing in the meals, and reviving old stories with his successors; and the most valuable part of this feeling is a certain sensitiveness which makes a boy afraid of doing anything which can discredit "the house." "The house has got a bad name," said a boy to me some years ago, "so it's no use trying." This motive lies ready to hand, and is a force which can be brought to bear by a serious master upon the minutest faults.

I must pass on to the intellectual life of the place. The whole school is divided into "divisions" of about thirty boys, massed into six "blocks"; the basis of the work is, of course, still classified. The whole school is examined at the end of every half-year for promotion. The tendency, therefore, except in the case of a boy of exceptional

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brilliancy or the reverse, is to go slowly up the school in the company of the boys among whom he is placed. The classical curriculum consists of lessons construed in school, composition in Greek and Latin, repetition lessons in the same language, and, in the lower parts of the school, grammar; besides his classical master, every boy attends the lessons of a mathematical, French, and science master. Taking thirty as the average number of hours in the week spent actually "in school," the proportion will be represented by sixteen for classics, six for mathematics, four for modern languages, two for subjects such as history and geography, and two for science. This is, of course, only a rough statement, and varies in the different parts of the school, classics pure and simple predominating in the upper "blocks."

The lessons are mostly oral, boys being called upon to construe in form and the master questioning and commenting. There is also a certain amount of paper work; but at Eton the exercises are generally done out of school in a boy's own time, and those who have experience of this system are inclined to rate it very highly indeed as a gain in responsibility. A great deal of voluntary energy and interest is expended by the majority of the boys on their work, and it is easier for a master to put pressure on a boy by results than when the work is done under his own eye. It is all the difference in fact between time-work and piece-work, and the boys value their liberty in this respect so highly, their power of settling for themselves when their work is to be done, that a mere suggestion of having it done for the future under a master's inspection is generally quite sufficient to bring the most procrastinating and neglectful, if not to a sense of duty, at least to a sense of prudence. There is considerably more latitude in this respect at Eton than at any other public school. It is the custom at most schools to set apart a certain period, called "preparation," when the work is done under superintendence; but those who are acquainted with the Eton method can honestly say that the work intrusted to the boys' own hours is as a rule best done.

Three important modifications have been lately made in most English public schools:

(1) The teaching of science. Thirty years ago, science was almost universally neglected; it now holds a prominent place. Then, at Eton there are two laboratories, a chemical and a physical, with theatres for lectures with demonstrations. There is an ample museum with scientific collections and an observatory carefully fitted with all requisites, and four masters are allotted to scientific subjects.

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(2) An army class. Since the introduction of a severe competition for the army, most schools have set apart a certain staff of masters who are engaged in teaching solely with a view to passing boys into the army. These boys have a different time-table and extra hours, but share in every other way the common life of the place. This to a certain extent does away with the necessity of passing a boy into the army through "crammers'" establishments where boys are herded together at a dangerous age without much disciplinary restraint and without the possibility of much physical exercise to counteract the evils of sedentary pressure.

(3) "Modern sides," as they are called, have been instituted at most public schools for boys destined to commercial careers, where the classics are almost entirely dispensed with and time is devoted to modern languages and mathematics. But, curiously enough, they are not generally in favor either with masters or boys, though it would be natural to suppose that the subjects dealt with would be more congenial to the majority of both. The fact is that, at school, subjects must almost necessarily be taught in an academic way. For practical purposes, a boy will learn far more in six months at Dresden or Tours than he will learn in four years by poring over a grammar; and the principle that, in education, *what* is taught is not so important as *how* it is taught is not an intellectual chimera, but a precept of the most practical and utilitarian kind. A large percentage of boys at every English public school are destined for the universities, and the universities adhere with greater fidelity, it has been lately shown, to both Greek and Latin than was expected; were they to dispense with Greek, Greek would vanish from the public schools except for classical specialists. But in the mean time we classicalists have an instrument of high educational value and culture in our hands, and use it to the best advantage. At Eton, instead of establishing a "modern side," a boy is allowed to give up Greek at a certain part of the school. The change was made quite lately and with some anxiety; it has been completely successful, but the number of boys who avail themselves of it seems to diminish rather than increase. A boy gets the most good out of an institution by falling in with the normal type of its spirit, and though an institution which depends for its success on popular favor must adapt itself to popular opinion, it also has a duty to perform in upholding a high educational standard which it cannot dare to neglect. The schoolmaster nowadays must be more philosopher than sophist if he is to do his duty to his generation.

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The result of the arrangement of work at Eton, and in a lesser degree at all public schools, is to leave in the hands of the boys a certain margin of leisure, gradually increased as the boy rises in the school, which he may dispose of as he will. At Eton every boy has a classical tutor who makes certain calls on his leisure time and with whom he prepares most of his work; but a boy who uses careful management, who employs his odds and ends of time well, can secure for himself a certain independence of pursuit which enables him to follow his own bent. At many schools there are, for instance, ardent natural-history societies which make collections, botanical and entomological, in the neighboring district; but at Eton the tendency has been for the most part in the direction of literature. In the first place, almost every house has its debating society, where topics of perhaps somewhat threadbare interest are ardently discussed by embryo members of Parliament, where future squires deliver themselves on the question of allotments or strikes, future diplomatists argue about foreign intervention. Into these societies masters only come as invited guests; they have no *status* there except by the will of the boy president. These debating societies are connected at Eton largely with social success, and the school debating society known as "Pop" is the blue ribbon of popularity.

Almost every year, too, there start into life one or more periodicals, in which boys are allowed to indulge in freedom of speech and great latitude of criticism as long as it is never personal; but the instinct is so perfect in these matters that the interference of the authorities is almost unknown. A certain number of the boys frequent the school library, and indulge in the wide and desultory reading which has conferred upon Eton a marked share of literary spirit. Here, again, there is no magisterial control; a master and a committee of boys choose the books to be purchased, but the library is open at all hours of the day, and it has never been found necessary to employ any supervision beyond that of a paid assistant to register books taken out. For boys of a mechanical turn, a workshop, which numbers about a hundred members, is open for almost the whole of every day. The same freedom exists there; the place is rarely visited by masters, and the instructor has no authority but a moral one, and it has not been found necessary to augment it.

The religious instruction of an English public school is usually a feature of special prominence. There is no sectarianism; Jews and Roman Catholics are allowed the full exercise of their religious ob-

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servances, but they are a comparatively small class. For most boys there is a short choral daily service and two full services on Sunday, with the ceremony at Eton of cathedral worship. At most schools, however, the music is entirely performed by a choir of boys; at Eton the nucleus is a paid choir, but that is owing to the collegiate traditions of the place. There is weekly instruction in the Greek Testament, and on Sunday a set of scripture questions are answered on paper by every boy in the school and shown to the division masters on Monday. Tutors, too, have on Sunday a class of pupils, where the Bible is read or lectures of a simple religious kind in biography or history delivered; the subjects, however, are left absolutely to the tutor's discretion, and it is not at all uncommon for him to consult the boys as to what they would like to do.

In religion it is unusual to find a public-school master of pronounced ecclesiastical tendency; the rule is to secure moderate men. A few public schools, such as Lansing, have a high-church bias, but the majority teach a plain biblical Protestantism, and the frequency with which headmasters of public schools are chosen to fill the highest ecclesiastical offices is a proof that they are, as a rule, men of moderate and practical orthodoxy. There is certainly no school in England where the teaching is avowedly evangelical; there is no school where the teaching is latitudinarian, and what may be called the moderate high-church section is certainly the most largely represented. With the great majority of masters a sedulous anxiety as to the moral character of their pupils is a continuous preoccupation, shown not by needless interference and inquisitive investigation, but rather by close observation and timely caution. Boys are carefully warned as to the special dangers which attend the morals of a boys' community, and the time of preparation for confirmation (which is annually administered by the Bishop of Oxford) is much valued by masters as an opportunity of giving friendly counsel and connecting religion with the difficulties of practical life.

And of course such a society, in many ways an artificial one, is attended by special dangers which will at once occur to the mind of every one. The only hope, however, rests, not in the dealing severely with special offences, but in the united ambition of masters and boys to keep the tone high and pure. The tone of an institution is subject to obscure and mysterious variation, but by wise vigilance and by leading rather than attempting to drive feeling and action into the right direction, much may be done to keep the moral and social atmos-

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phere wholesome; once secure a high general tone, and it acts as a corrective, raising the weak and making the irresolute ashamed, at all events, of his lapse; and thus many dangers slip insensibly which otherwise would entail both that espionage and suspicion.

To revert to more ordinary deficiencies, the danger that all institutions have to face is the predominance of one single tendency, copied and exaggerated and distorted from the outside world. The two tendencies which we should select as chiefly to be guarded against at present in English public schools are athleticism and utilitarianism. Athletics are the fashion everywhere, and have gained ground in the last twenty years at a prodigious rate. Within certain limits the athletic spirit brings such a great accession of power to a schoolmaster that it is a particularly insidious opponent, for it is usually against the very temptations which he sees to be the most dangerous to which boyhood is exposed; moreover, the deprivation of games to a moderate degree is a most useful engine of punishment—one that is effectual and needs hardly any repetition. What the master has to fight against is the idolizing of the athlete. If a boy admires, he almost necessarily worships; and so, though it is on the one hand a great advantage to a schoolmaster to be able to command the respect paid to athletics, he has to show clearly that he does not accept the boyish idea or look upon athletic success as an end in itself.

Athletic prominence is in English public schools almost synonymous with social prominence; many a boy whose capacity and character command both respect and liking at the universities and in after-life, is almost a nobody at a public school because he has no special athletic gifts. This, of course, has its advantage. A boy, heir we will say to great wealth, large territorial interests, family traditions, an ancestral name, will find at Eton or at other public schools that these go for positively nothing if he has not geniality and good nature and honesty; but even these qualities are hardly sufficient to insure anything like success unless he be athletically inclined. On the other hand, great athletic capacity may coexist with low moral and intellectual character, though it is fortunately exceptional; and the prominence that may devolve on such a character is likely to do infinite harm. But on the whole the schoolmaster must recognize that athleticism is the best of servants and be careful to keep it in hand.

Utilitarianism is a more open foe, and perhaps it is more characteristic of Eton from the circumstances of the case than of other schools. At Eton, most boys come from an atmosphere of wealth and

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ease, and it is inevitable that they should naturally be tempted to measure everything by these standards, and to believe that money comes, as a sordid necessity perhaps, but still as a necessity, even before the kingdom of Heaven. Such a spirit requires to be fought with delicate weapons. At other schools it appears in perhaps even a more plausible guise—in the worship of success even more than wealth; and it can only be surely baffled by direct teaching, by such opportunities as have lately been given by the establishment of missions in connection with the larger public schools, where the school supports by voluntary contributions one or more of the clergy in some populous district of London, and partly by the example of strict devotion by those who have the charge of the youths of England.

At present, public boarding-schools are very decidedly the fashion. The great principle that underlies them is the spirit of liberty and responsibility. The former is the inheritance of bygone generations; accompanied by license, it was unfortunately only too characteristic of the earlier English schools. Anything, it was thought, and rightly, was better than espionage; and so the boys were drilled and flogged and otherwise left to themselves. A certain rude freedom was the result for the majority, a magnificent sense of duty for the higher few, and, alas! too much shipwreck for the weak of the flock. Espionage is kept at bay as much as ever (happily), but indifference has in the rulers of these great institutions been succeeded by vigilance. The heart of boyhood does not require much assistance to beat true; it requires to be trusted and trustworthiness is the result. "Let us obey our rulers," says the "*Carmen Etonense*," the favorite Eton ditty, "provided only that they season laws with liberty and wed liberty to law. So may our liberty, unshackled by law, love stable principles and stand in the security of obedience."

"Obsequamur regibus,
Modo jungant reges
Libertatem legibus,
Libertati leges.

"Lege sic solutior
Leges amet certas;
Sic parendo tutior
Nostra stet libertas."

A. C. Benson.

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NEEDED REFORM IN NATURALIZATION.

For the last twenty years the restriction of immigration to the United States has been a topic of constantly increasing interest. Since the act of March 3, 1875, which prohibited the admission of convicts and of women imported for purposes of prostitution, four Federal statutes have been adopted with a view to the exclusion of aliens other than Chinese, who have been shut out as a race. These four enactments, which have been made in the last decade, relate to the repulsion of idiots, persons diseased or insane, paupers or persons likely to become a public charge, polygamists, convicts, and contract laborers. Nevertheless, the tide of immigration still rises. The annual number of immigrants is now about half a million. It was stated in the press that on Thursday, the 7th of April last, there were landed at Ellis Island five thousand four hundred and twenty-four immigrants—the largest number, with one exception, when steamers were kept back for several days by a fog, ever received at the port of New York in a single day.[1] Nearly all the countries of continental Europe are said to have been represented, though the number of Italians, of whom there were upwards of fourteen hundred, was more than double that of any other nationality. Scandinavia contributed six hundred, Germany five hundred, while Poles, Slavs, Hungarians, French, and Dutch chiefly made up the remainder. Only sixty out of the grand aggregate possessed more than a hundred dollars; a somewhat larger number brought more than ten dollars, but the majority had five dollars or less. "Thursday's product," says the reporter, "it was explained to me, was unusually poverty-stricken, and was composed of wretched specimens of humanity."

It is not my purpose to discuss the subject of immigration or to make suggestions as to its further restriction or regulation. I am inclined to think that we should endeavor to devise means for the just application and enforcement of the restrictions already existing, rather than try a radical departure from our traditional policy. But, however this may be, there is another and kindred problem that merits

[1] This number was exceeded on April 21.

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our immediate and patriotic consideration. I refer to the problem of naturalization. It has been found by a committee of the House of Representatives that more than twenty per cent of our immigrants may be classed as undesirable. The only specific exclusion from citizenship of the United States is that of the Chinese. All other aliens who come to our shores are regarded as candidates for that high political privilege, and those who earliest acquire it are those in whose hands it becomes a mockery. The ignorant, debased, and vicious, lamentably destitute of political ideas and of moral perceptions, may be said to form the imminent political element among the immigrants. In order that they may deliver their purchased suffrages to corrupt political "workers," our courts are degraded, fraud and perjury are flagrantly practised, and the process of naturalization is turned into a farce. We now stand at the threshold of a national election, involving among its grave issues the succession to the presidential office—an office in many respects more powerful than that of king or emperor. It is within the range of possibility that under our naturalization laws as they are now administered, some of the immigrants who landed at Ellis Island on the 7th of April may cast the deciding vote. This may not be probable, yet it is demonstrably possible.

In twenty-seven of our States citizenship is a necessary prerequisite of the exercise of the elective franchise. Among the twenty-seven are California, Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Rhode Island. These States are not classed together as all "doubtful" or as "pivotal," but they all contain a large foreign-born element, and they are specially interesting either because of the size or the uncertainty of their electoral vote. In all our States a term of residence ranging from three months to two years is prescribed as a condition of voting; but this requirement is constantly evaded in our large cities, and it offers little or no obstruction to the abuse of the process of naturalization. Of all the safeguards of the suffrage, that of citizenship of the United States should be the most efficient, just as it is, or ought to be, the most sacred. In reality there is no safeguard at the present moment more abused and discredited.

In order that an alien may be admitted to citizenship of the United States, it is required: (1) That he shall, at least two years prior to his admission, declare on oath before a State or Federal court of competent jurisdiction that it is his *bona-fide* intention to become a citizen of the United States, and to renounce all foreign allegiance; (2) that he shall,

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at the time of his admission to citizenship, swear to support the Constitution of the United States, and make the renunciation which he previously declared it to be his intention to make; (3) that it shall appear "to the satisfaction of the court" that he has continuously resided within the United States at least five years prior to his admission, and within the State or Territory where the court is held at least a year, and that "during that time he has behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same."

These are the usual conditions. There are, however, several exceptions. Under an act passed in 1862, during the stress of the Civil War, soldiers who have been honorably discharged from the army are admitted to citizenship without a prior declaration of intention; and by an act passed ten years later, seamen who have declared their intention to become citizens, and who, subsequently to such declaration, have served three years on board of a merchant-vessel of the United States, are also admitted to citizenship. But the most important exception is that which relates to persons who have come to the United States as minors. Such persons, if they have resided in the United States the three years preceding the period of their reaching the age of twenty-one years, may, after attaining that age and after residing in the United States five years, including the three years of their minority, be admitted to citizenship without having made a declaration of intention, though they must at the time of their naturalization declare on oath, and "prove to the satisfaction of the court," that for the two preceding years it has been their *bona-fide* intention to become citizens of the United States.

While the various conditions set forth in the statutes, and the requirement that those conditions shall be proved "to the satisfaction of the court," present a certain formidable aspect, they have for many years and in many places been disregarded and nullified. The obvious intention of Congress was that the naturalization of aliens should be a judicial process, resulting in a formal and recorded judgment of the court. In the early times, when the principal legislation on the subject was framed, this end was easily attained. The basis of the law now in force was laid in the act of 1802. The number of immigrants who came to the United States in 1820 was only slightly greater than that of the persons who have in recent years been admitted to citizenship in a single court in the days preceding a general election. The process of naturalization has now degenerated into a clerical act,

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attended with scarcely so much formality as the ordinary certification of a record. Immediately before elections, when the greatest care should be exercised, men are brought into our court-rooms by the hundred, and admitted to citizenship by clerks as rapidly as the meagre printed forms can be filled up and signed. In many cases applicants are not even sworn upon their so-called examination; and the witnesses who are admitted to prove their qualifications are sometimes professional perjurers, utterly without knowledge of the facts as to which they assume to testify. It is not extravagant to say that in this way thousands of persons have been enabled to participate in our elections without ever having fulfilled the requirement as to residence prescribed by our naturalization laws.

Nor is it for political objects alone that frauds have been committed. Certificates have been obtained for persons living abroad, with a view to secure the protection of the United States against the claims of their own governments. On the other hand, aliens who have resided only a few weeks or days in the United States, or who have no residence at all in this country, have been fraudulently naturalized in order that they might obtain an employment of which citizenship was a condition. By the laws of the United States only citizens are permitted to command American vessels. During the investigations of the select committee of the House of Representatives known as the Ford Committee, in 1888, it was shown that that inhibition had in numerous cases been evaded by a combination of men engaged in obtaining naturalization papers from a court in Brooklyn by reckless imposition. One of these men, who was examined by the committee, admitted, after first denying all knowledge of the subject, that he had been compensated for acting as a witness in some of the cases, in one of which the papers were obtained in the absence of the applicant. He sought, however, to palliate his conduct by declaring to the committee that he did not think that he was "doing anybody any harm."

Nowhere has the maladministration of our naturalization laws been more flagrant than in the city of New York, and nowhere has the incentive to violate them been greater. But it cannot be said that the investigation of the practices in other large cities has developed any pleasing contrasts. In a report recently made to the House of Representatives by the Hon. William C. Oates, from the Committee on the Judiciary, on alleged illegal practices in United States courts, an account is given of the methods in vogue in those courts in Boston. It

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appears that several years ago the legislature of Massachusetts passed an act to regulate the practice in the State courts and to require greater vigilance in the naturalization of aliens. The result was that candidates for citizenship went from all parts of the State to Boston and sought naturalization in the courts of the United States, in which Mr. Oates describes the practice as follows:

"When aliens apply to become fully naturalized, the blanks are filled both for the applicant and the witnesses which he brings with him. And then the clerk or deputy, as the case may be, proceeds with the applicant and his witnesses, and sometimes quite a number of applicants at the same time, into the court-room when the court is not in session, or to the door of the court-room if it be in session; and in either case he says to the applicant and his witnesses, 'Now you are in the presence of the court,' and administers the oath to him and his witnesses, retires to his office, issues the necessary certificate, and if he fills the blank he charges the applicant a fee of $4, but if the applicant brought in his papers already filled the fee is but half that sum. The judge's attention, even when present and holding court, is never called to the matter at all, unless the clerk gets up a doubt as to whether the applicant is entitled to be naturalized, and then he refers the matter to the judge, which is not of very frequent occurrence.

"Just before elections are to be held, when there is a great pressure of applicants for naturalization, backed up by committees from the different political parties, the judges give, in such cases, some personal attention to these matters; but usually the applicants are put through and adjudged to be citizens of the United States by the clerk or his deputies, in the absence of the judge and without his knowledge. Neither is it the practice in said courts to make any investigation of who the witnesses are, or whether they are worthy or unworthy of credit. Any two witnesses are generally accepted as competent and credible to prove up ten cases, but the clerks say they refuse to take the testimony of the same two witnesses for more than ten applicants at one time."

It is not strange that Mr. Oates, recurring to this subject in another report, adds to his statement of the facts the exclamation, "What a ridiculous farce!"

In the testimony reported to the House of Representatives by Mr. Owen, from a select committee on immigration and naturalization, on January 15, 1891, there is a disclosure of the methods that prevail in Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis. Of the witnesses examined by the committee at Cincinnati, one had heard of cases of fraudulent naturalization in New York, but of none in Cincinnati. Another witness declared that for a number of years Cincinnati was "one of the worst" places in the country for fraud of that character, but he thought there had lately been a marked improvement. The present practice was exhibited by Judge Goebel, of the Probate Court of Hamilton County. From a thousand to fifteen hundred persons were

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naturalized in that court in 1888, many of them belonging to a class described by the judge as "people who take no interest in elections, and care nothing about them until just a few days before the election, and then leave their work and come here and complain because their wants cannot be attended to." For this reason he thought "difficulty might arise if you had a complicated way of naturalizing." At the same time he admitted that the proceeding was wholly *ex parte*, and that no objection had ever been made before him to a witness or a proceeding, though he had himself frequently refused to naturalize a man who was under the influence of liquor.

The deputy-clerk of the Superior Court of Cook County, Illinois, while unable to state the number of persons naturalized in the city of Chicago during the sixty days preceding the presidential election of 1888, thought there must have been five thousand in the Superior Court alone. The largest day's work was between four and five hundred, "and," said the witness, "when we have these rushes there are several clerks at work from ten till two o'clock, at work all the time." He had known one man to act as a witness in fifty cases, and he expressed the opinion that hundreds of naturalizations were falsely procured. One "professional swearer-in" was afterward convicted of perjury.

Under the constitution of Missouri an alien may vote on a declaration of intention; but as it is also required that the declaration shall be made not less than a year nor more than five years prior to the election, the political managers find it better to have the applicant fully admitted to citizenship at once. The proceedings in one of the St. Louis courts prior to the election of 1888 were described by an intelligent witness before the committee as follows:

"When the court opened in the morning, the room would be jammed and packed, so much so you could not elbow your way through it. The court required the assistance of extra sheriffs and bailiffs, and finally the confusion became so great that it had to call on the police to help preserve order, the judge and clerk sometimes threatening to quit entirely because they could not preserve order. The line of people would extend all the way around the court-room, back to the door, and out into the lobby, and sometimes as many as two hundred persons would be naturalized in a day, in addition to the transaction of the regular business of the court, and it appeared that all that was done between ten o'clock in the morning and two o'clock in the afternoon. The testimony was that they could easily naturalize a man in three minutes. The argument used in that case was this: Three times two hundred would be six hundred minutes; six hundred minutes would be ten hours. Yet the court was only in session four hours, and naturalized two hundred persons and disposed of from twenty-five to fifty cases besides."

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The chief deputy-clerk of the court in which these proceedings occurred—the Court of Criminal Correction—testified that there were perhaps four thousand persons naturalized in that court in 1888. Over two hundred and fifty were naturalized in a single day, though an ordinary day's business was about seventy or eighty. By actual experiment he had demonstrated that all the forms could be complied with, two oaths administered, one to the applicant and the other to the witness, and all questions required by law be answered, in about thirty-two seconds. The fee in each case was a dollar and a half, but a voucher instead of money was given, and the fees were then paid in bulk by the political parties in interest. The belief that many applicants had been fraudulently naturalized induced the authorities of the United States to institute prosecutions for perjury. About seventy-five prosecutions were attempted, but in no case was there a conviction. As against the testimony of the judge and the clerk of the court in which the defendant was admitted to citizenship, that it was the "invariable rule" to observe the requirements of the law, the defendant testified either that he had not been sworn, or, if sworn, that the questions required by law had not been asked. If he admitted that questions were asked, he declared that he had not understood them. The jury rendered a verdict of acquittal. Thus at the same moment, as the result of our present practices, fraud was facilitated and invested with immunity.

Until the year 1868, the law in the United States as to the right of expatriation was uncertain. While the executive maintained the principle that it was the right of every man to change his home and his allegiance, the courts, following the precedents of the English law, admitted a contrary doctrine. In that year a Federal statute was enacted by which it was declared that the right of expatriation was "a natural and inherent right of all people"; that "any declaration, instruction, opinion, order, or decision of any officer of the United States" which denied, restricted, impaired, or questioned that right was "inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the Republic," and that all naturalized citizens of the United States, while in foreign countries, were entitled to and should receive from that Government the same protection of person and property as was accorded to native-born citizens. In the same year, but prior to the passage of the act just quoted, George Bancroft—statesman, diplomatist, and historian—concluded with the North German Union the first of our treaties of naturalization. This diplomatic triumph, happy in the time and

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the circumstances of its accomplishment, proved to be exceedingly fruitful; and similar treaties were speedily concluded with Austria-Hungary, Baden, Bavaria, Great Britain, Sweden and Norway, and other states. Under the assurance, however, of treaty or of statute, or of both, our naturalized citizens began to go abroad in increasing numbers, a very large proportion revisiting the land of their nativity. Our legations were soon inundated with applications for protection, and this led to the examination of large numbers of cases of naturalization. The result is described in the annual message of President Grant to Congress, in 1875, as follows:

"On many occasions it has been brought to the knowledge of the Government that certificates of naturalization are held and protection or interference claimed by parties who admit that not only they were not within the United States at the time of the pretended naturalization, but that they have never resided in the United States; in others, the certificate and record show on their face that the person claiming to be naturalized had not resided the required time in the United States; in others, it is admitted upon examination that the requirements of law have not been complied with; in some cases, even, such certificates have been matter of purchase. These are not isolated cases, arising at rare intervals, but of common occurrence, and which are reported from all quarters of the globe. Such occurrences cannot and do not fail to reflect upon the Government and injure all honest citizens."

When Mr. Bancroft Davis went as minister to Germany in 1874, fresh from his instructive labors in the State Department, he entered, with his accustomed energy and thoroughness, upon the examination of cases of naturalization brought to the attention of his legation. His dispatches in themselves form an admirable commentary on the loose methods then and now in vogue. I shall, however, refer to only one statement. In a dispatch of June 30, 1877, he reported that out of fifty applications for passports by naturalized citizens during the preceding year, in six cases it turned out that the naturalization had been obtained by fraud. In five of the six there had not been a full five-years' residence in the United States before naturalization, and none of the applicants had served as soldier or seaman, so as to come within the exceptions as to residence. In the sixth case the applicant, in the course of the five years he pretended to have passed in America, had resided for some time in Germany. It could not, said Mr. Davis, be imagined that the proportion of fraudulent naturalizations was by any means so large as twelve per cent, though the mere fact that so large a proportion had appeared in a single year justified the German authorities in the inquiries they made where a

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naturalized citizen of the United States claimed exemption from military service.

The reports that come to us from our diplomatic and consular representatives are specially significant. In placing himself within the jurisdiction of a foreign government, and above all within that from which he emigrated, a person who has been improperly naturalized assumes a risk of detection from which he is practically exempt in the United States. The foreign authorities examine his antecedents, and the Government of the United States is also bound to protect itself against imposition. If the number of those who assume that risk is great, it must be inferred that the proportion of fraudulent cases among those who remain in the United States is also great. In 1887 Judge Lambert Tree, who fully maintained in the diplomatic service his high reputation for intelligence and discretion, writing from Brussels in relation to the abuse, by "very many persons," of American citizenship, said:

> "Their citizenship is in all, save form, a palpable fraud, not only on the United States, but on the country in which they actually dwell. It often happens in the course of my duty that such persons apply for passports because the police are annoying them, or they wish to travel in Russia, Spain, or other countries, and who admit that they have no fixed intention of ever returning to the United States. Some of these persons have lived there just long enough to get naturalized, and no longer; others, although possessing naturalization certificates, I have found, on careful questioning, had never been in the United States the required five years, but had made only occasional visits there, and even then, from the first to the last visit, it covered a period of less than *four* years."

Year after year the diplomatic representatives of the United States have continued to make their dismal reports, and successive Presidents have in successive messages recommended reforms in the law, but without avail. Meanwhile the odor of sanctity that pervades the judgments of judicial courts the world over has long since ceased to adhere to our certificates of naturalization. Where a question arises under a treaty requiring five years' residence abroad as a condition of expatriation, the government whose citizen claims to have rid himself of his allegiance naturally refuses to accept a certificate of naturalization as conclusive evidence of such residence when it clearly appears that the condition has not been fulfilled. Nor has the Government of the United States been willing, where no such treaty existed, to insist that a fraud committed upon itself should be used for the purpose of defrauding another government. Instead, therefore, of making the vain and questionable attempt to maintain the finality of a certificate of

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naturalization which appears to have been improperly obtained, the Government of the United States has been constrained, in dealing with questions that arise in foreign countries, to assume the position that, while it will not permit the validity of our naturalization proceedings to be determined by a foreign government, it will itself in good faith examine the evidences of illegality and refuse to accord protection where the process has been abused. In no other way could honorable relations have been maintained and our treaties have been preserved.

On the 5th of January last Mr. Oates introduced in the House of Representatives a bill to amend our naturalization laws so as to prevent the abuses that have so long existed. It was reported by the Committee on the Judiciary on the 14th of March, with amendments, and was placed on the calendar. By its first section it provides that no alien shall be admitted to citizenship who has been convicted of a felony or other infamous crime, or of a misdemeanor involving moral turpitude, who is an anarchist or polygamist, who came to the United States in violation of the immigration laws, or who cannot read the Constitution of the United States. Besides prescribing these personal disqualifications, the bill contains important regulations as to procedure. Every applicant for citizenship is required to file in one of the courts possessing jurisdiction of the subject-matter a petition, the form of which, as well as of its verification, is set forth in the bill. Upon the filing of the petition, duly verified, the clerk of the court is required to enter it on a docket, and to notify the district attorney or public prosecutor; and it is made his duty to defend the Government against the petition and to see that its allegations are fully proved. These regulations are well designed and are obviously restrictive in their character.

On the other hand, it is proposed to abolish the declaration of intention, except in the case of a person who, before he can lawfully be naturalized, desires to make a homestead entry. The object of this proposal is, I assume, to make the qualifications of electors more nearly uniform. Under the laws of all the States, citizenship of the United States is a condition of the exercise of the elective franchise, though it is not always an exclusive condition. In Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, Wisconsin, and Wyoming, a declaration of intention is sufficient. If this declaration were abolished, citizenship would become a uniform

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qualification of electors, and it is not probable that the law would in this respect be changed. We should naturally expect to find a disposition to enlarge the basis of the suffrage in new States desirous of increasing their population; but in Idaho, Montana, and Washington, citizenship of the United States is exacted. The manifest reasonableness of making the political qualification of voters the same throughout the United States is, under present conditions, a powerful argument in favor of the abolition of the declaration of intention. Were it not for this fact, I should think the expediency of such a measure doubtful. It is true that where illegal practices have prevailed the requirement of a declaration of intention two years prior to naturalization has been rendered valueless, because it has not been enforced. In the same way the condition of a five-years residence has been defeated.

I venture to suggest that, while it may be deemed advisable to abolish the declaration of intention, it would in any case be expedient to require the petition for admission to citizenship to be filed and notice to the district attorney or public prosecutor given from three to six months prior to the hearing, in order that ample time for inquiries here or abroad may be afforded. Moreover, the petition should be required to show, not only, as is now proposed, a compliance with the requirements of the law, including a residence in the United States for five years, but also the place of residence in the original country, the port from which the emigrant came, the date of his departure, and the steamer on which he sailed. Such a statement is required in applications for passports, and it has been found to afford a valuable clew to the discovery of fraud. It not infrequently happens that persons who have, through the machinations of political managers, been naturalized in actual ignorance of the law, will disclose the fraud by their own admissions; and in any event the passenger-lists of the steamers may and should be available. Similar care should be taken prior to naturalization. In addition to these requirements I venture to offer from my own experience, as well as from that of others, the following practical suggestions:

I. The record of naturalization should substantially follow the form of the petition. Often, and especially in places where naturalizations are most numerous, the record merely states that A. B. appeared, and "having produced before the court such proof and having made such declaration and renunciation, and having taken such oaths" as were prescribed by law, was admitted to citizenship. It would be inconvenient to carry about both a copy of the petition and a copy of the record,

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and the latter should be in such form that a duplicate would disclose all the particular and essential facts. Under the present methods, no petition being required, such a form as that quoted invites the commission of fraud, affords no clew to its detection, and enables a culprit to deny his guilt.

II. The record should state under what provision of law the naturalization was effected. In this relation I venture to suggest whether, in order to maintain a uniform rule of naturalization, the exceptions as to soldiers and sailors should not be done away with. This has several times been recommended by those who have been compelled to deal with the subject. The exception as to soldiers had a specific object, which no longer exists and may never again exist in the same form. The exception as to sailors does not embrace seamen in the navy or members of the marine corps, and while it is very liable to abuse, its advantages have not been manifest.

III. There should be established at Washington a bureau of naturalization, in which duplicates of all recorded naturalization proceedings should be deposited and indexed. This would enable the Secretary of State to furnish authenticated copies of such records, which would often be of great benefit to the immigrant, and to ascertain at once the facts as to a case arising abroad—an advantage both to the Government of the United States and to its *bona-fide* citizens. In Cincinnati, Chicago, New Orleans, and other places large numbers of such records are said to have been destroyed by casualty, and not infrequently a person loses his certificate and is unable to remember the court from which he obtained it. The exhibition of a certificate of naturalization is an absolute prerequisite of the issuance of a passport to a person who applies for it as a naturalized citizen, and may at any time become essential to the exercise of important privileges. At present the only remedy for the loss or destruction of the record is a new naturalization, or possibly a petition for a judgment establishing such loss or destruction. The first method involves a great hardship; the second is not authorized by statute, and is both uncertain and liable to abuse. Of minor, though not of slight, importance would be the constant and trustworthy statistical work of a bureau of naturalization. Both President Arthur and President Cleveland recommended that such a bureau be established.

IV. Provision should be made for vacating the record of a naturalization illegally obtained. If a diplomatic or consular representative, discovering a certificate to be fraudulent, retains it, there is nothing

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at present to prevent the holder from obtaining a new certificate and trying his chances with another representative, or from afterwards exercising in the United States rights of citizenship which his government has denied him abroad. In such a spectacle there is something at least incongruous. Closer relations should exist between the executive, when dealing with the cases that arise abroad, and the judicial officers who grant the certificates at home. The record should be vacated, perhaps subject to the individual's appearance within a certain time to show cause why such vacation should not be permanent.

V. Provision should be made for the forfeiture of naturalization where it is fraudulently obtained and used for the purposes of a foreign residence. Cases are exceedingly numerous in which persons immediately on obtaining certificates of naturalization return to their original country and remain indefinitely, if they are not either expelled or denied protection. This gross abuse has rendered our present treaties of naturalization precarious, and the negotiation of new ones apparently impossible.

While there are several particulars in which our laws in relation to citizenship should be revised—the status of children especially needs to be defined—I have confined myself to naturalization and the methods of protecting it against abuse. The amendments I have suggested are those that have seemed to me to be the most important, and I believe their adoption would be productive of advantage both to the Government of the United States and to its *bona-fide* citizens. I am not among the number of those who advocate a radical alteration in the conditions of admission to citizenship, such as an extension of the period of residence. Apart from the fact that the presence in a country of a large foreign element is both inconvenient and dangerous, I believe it to be a just and commendable policy to extend to the honest and industrious immigrant a ready admission to the citizenship of the country in which he makes his home. If justification of such a policy were required, it could be found in the general conduct of our foreign-born citizens, as well as in the conspicuous illustrations which our history affords of thrift, intelligence, and patriotic devotion. As no class has more highly prized the privilege of American citizenship than our naturalized citizens, so none is more interested in rescuing it from the degrading effect of fraudulent and criminal abuses.

JOHN BASSETT MOORE.

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WHAT THE COMING MAN WILL EAT.

Food constitutes the chief item of the living expenses of the people of this country and of Europe. The health and strength of all are intimately dependent upon our diet. Yet the most of us understand very little about what our food contains, how it nourishes us, whether we are economical or wasteful in buying and preparing it for use, and whether or not the food we eat is rightly fitted to the demands of our bodies. The result of our ignorance is great waste in the purchase and use of food, loss of money, and injury to health. The reason for this ignorance is simple enough. Fifty years ago no man knew what our bodies and our foods were composed of; how the different nutritive ingredients of the food served their purposes in nutrition; how much of each of the ingredients was needed to supply the demands of people of different age, sex, and occupation; and how best to adjust the diet to the wants of the user. We do not to-day know as much about these things as we ought. For that matter, we never shall be able to lay down hard-and-fast rules to apply to all cases, because of the differences between individuals in respect to their demands for nutriment and the ways in which their bodies can make use of different kinds of foods. But the research of the past twenty-five years has brought a great deal of definite information. Nearly all of the exact inquiry in this direction has been done in Europe, and the greater part of it in Germany. We are only beginning it in the United States.

Scientific research, interpreting the observations of practical life, indicates that we make a fourfold mistake in our food economy. First, we purchase needlessly expensive kinds of food. We do this under the false impression that there is some peculiar virtue in the costlier food materials, and that economy in our diet is somehow detrimental to our dignity or our welfare. And, unfortunately, those who are most extravagant in this respect are often the ones who can least afford it. Secondly, the food which we eat does not always contain the proper proportions of the different kinds of nutritive ingredients. We consume relatively too much of the fuel ingredients of

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food, such as the fats of meat and butter, the starch which makes up the larger part of the nutritive material of flour and potatoes, and sugar and sweetmeats. Conversely, we have relatively too little of the protein or flesh-forming substances, like the lean of meat and fish and the gluten of wheat, which make muscle and sinew and which are the basis of blood, bone, and brain. Thirdly, many people, not only the well-to-do, but those in moderate circumstances, use needless quantities of food. Part of the excess, however, is simply thrown away with the wastes of the table and the kitchen; so that the injury to health, great as it may be, is doubtless much less than if all were eaten. Probably the worst sufferers from this evil are well-to-do people of sedentary occupations—brain-workers as distinguished from hand-workers. Finally, we are guilty of serious errors in our cooking. We waste a great deal of fuel in the preparation of our food, and even then a great deal of the food is very badly cooked. A reform in these methods of cooking is one of the economic demands of our time.

The statements above regarding the errors in our food economy are based upon reasonably well attested facts of observation and experiment. I venture to add the suggestion that as information is extended, inherited experience grows, and, in the natural order of development, men increase in knowledge and in capacity to use their own powers and those of nature, the man of the future will be better nourished, will accomplish more, and will live on a higher plane physically, intellectually, and, I am inclined to add, morally, than the man of to-day. Of course no such optimism as this can be based solely or merely upon anticipated improvement in our use of food. And even for the improvement in this one essential the masses of the people must be better instructed. It would be folly to expect that the public at large are to become experts in the chemistry and physiology of nutrition, but we may hope that with the advance of science the main facts will come to be a part of that common knowledge, or inherited common sense as some like to call it, which actuates the conduct of thoughtful people. What I mean is that just as an intelligent woman has a pretty definite idea of the value of different kinds of cloth for a dress, and how much of the cloth and lining and trimmings are wanted to make a dress to fit her, so intelligent people will, in the future, come to have much clearer ideas than they have now of the actually nutritive substances in different food materials and at different prices, and the kinds and amounts that will best fit their needs.

For it is exactly here, in the adapting of food to the demands of

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the body and also to the purse, by proper selection of materials, and by proper cooking and eating, that the improvement must come. How great are the economic loss and the injury to health from irrational cooking, no one can tell. Certain it is that meats overdone are made less digestible thereby, and it would seem that the methods of baking and frying in vogue in many households and regions of our country must injure the nutritive value of the food. The æsthetic side of cooking is not cultivated as it should be. Of the many ways in which the charity we call Christian is being exerted, none seems to me worthier of that appellation than the movement in industrial education, of which the teaching of the daughters of working-people how to do housework and how to select food and cook it forms a part. The cooking-schools that are springing up like magic throughout the country are a harbinger of happier home life in the future.

The greatest waste in cooking is in the fuel used; only a very small fraction of the heat developed is really applied to the food. I surmise that the cook of the future will make better use of the energy of wood or coal or perhaps of the sun's rays. From the Indian's camp-fire over which a fish or a piece of venison stews and smokes to the modern cook stove or range is a long step forward. But will not the coming woman's kitchen have devices far better than these? If one wants a suggestion of what may be done, let him see Mr. Edward Atkinson's "Aladdin oven." In a book just being published on "The Science of Nutrition," in which this apparatus is described, Mr. Atkinson says:

> "Any intelligent boy can be taught in one lesson of one hour how to get up a five-course dinner for ten persons, consisting of soup, roast, *entrée,* vegetables, and pudding. I state this because I have done it.
>
> "Any intelligent girl can be taught to make and bake the best of bread by the use of the implements named in this treatise, without touching flour or dough with her hands. I state this because I have done it.
>
> "The fuel oil required for the cooking for a family of ten persons for one hundred days at the seaside in summer can be bought at retail at less than one cent a day for each person. I state this because I have practised it."

My present purpose is to consider more especially the nutritive properties of food and how to adapt our diet to the demands of health and purse. The data for the discussion are found in the results of European inquiry and in some studies of food and dietaries made by the writer and his associates in the chemical laboratory of Wesleyan University. In the course of the latter studies, which have been made in connection with the Storrs Experiment Station, the Massa-

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chusetts Bureau of Labor, the United States Department of Labor, and the Smithsonian Institution, several hundred specimens of food materials have been analyzed, and estimates have been made of the amount and composition of the food used by somewhat over one thousand persons, mostly wage-workers, with a few college students and men in professional life, in some fifty families and boarding-houses, chiefly in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Of course the American data are extremely meagre, and while the European are very extensive, even they are much less complete than is to be desired. For the discussion I must take a different view of food from that to which we are accustomed, and consider, not the food as a whole, but the nutriment it actually contains, which is a very different thing.[1] I must take account of its chemical composition, its nutritive ingredients, and the ways in which they are used to nourish our bodies. I must talk, not of beef and bread and potatoes, but of protein, carbohydrates, and fats.

The terms protein, proteids, and albuminoids are used somewhat indiscriminately for the nitrogenous compounds in plants and in the animal body. The myosin which forms the basis of lean meat and of the flesh of fish, the ossein of bone, albumen of egg, casein of milk, gluten of wheat, and the like, are protein. Of the fats we have examples in butter, olive oil, and the oils of corn and other vegetable

[1] The following figures will serve to illustrate the qualities of the different ingredients and estimated full value of common edibles:

Food Materials.	Refuse: bones, skin, shells, etc.	Edible Portion.						
		Water.	Nutrients.					Potential Energy in One Pound.
			Total.	Protein	Fats.	Carbohydrates.	Mineral Matters	
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Calories.
Beef, side, well fattened	19.2	44.3	36.5	13.9	21.8	...	0.8	1,180
Beef, round, rather lean	10.0	60.0	30.0	20.7	8.1	....	1.2	725
Beef, sirloin, rather fat	25.0	45.0	30.0	15.0	14.3	....	0.7	880
Beef, flank	12.1	43.7	44.2	12.4	29.2	....	2.6	1,460
Mutton, side, well fattened	17.3	44.2	38.5	14.0	23.7	....	0.8	1,260
Smoked ham	11.4	36.8	51.8	14.8	34.6	....	2.4	1,785
Pork, very fat, salted	....	12.1	87.9	0.9	82.8	....	4.2	3,510
Codfish, fresh, dressed	29.9	58.5	11.6	10.6	0.2	....	0.8	205
Mackerel, whole	44.8	40.4	15.0	10.0	4.3	....	0.7	365
Salmon, whole	35.3	40.6	24.1	14.3	8.8	....	1.0	635
Salt codfish	42.1	40.3	17.6	16.0	0.4	....	1.2	315
Hens' eggs	13.7	63.1	23.2	12.1	10.2	....	0.9	655
Oysters, average	....	87.1	12.9	6.0	1.2	3.7	2.0	230
Cows' milk	....	87.0	13.0	3.6	4.0	4.7	0.7	325
Cheese, whole milk	....	30.2	69.8	28.3	35.5	1.8	4.2	2,070
Butter	....	10.5	89.0	1.0	85.0	0.5	3.0	3,615
Wheat flour	....	12.5	87.5	11.0	1.1	74.9	0.5	1,644
Beans	....	12.6	87.4	23.1	2.0	59.2	3.1	1,615
Corn (maize) meal	...	15.0	85.0	9.2	3.8	70.6	1.4	1,645
Potatoes	10.0	71.0	19.0	2.0	0.1	16.0	0.9	340
Sugar, granulated	....	2.0	98.0	....	....	97.8	0.2	1,820

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foods. Carbohydrates do not occur to any extent in meats and fish, but are found in milk as milk-sugar, and are the chief nutritive ingredients of vegetable foods. The mineral matters, and water also, are necessary for nourishment; but we do not generally take them into account in studies of dietaries.

Food nourishes our bodies in two ways: it builds and repairs our tissues and it serves for fuel to yield heat to keep the body warm and to give it force and strength to do its work. The protein compounds are the building material. They are sometimes called "flesh-formers," because the flesh, *i.e.*, muscle and sinew, is formed from them, though they make blood and bone as well and can also be transformed into fat. The fats and carbohydrates are the fuel ingredients. Both of them are transformed into the fat of the body, which is its reserve of fuel. The protein can serve as fuel also, but the fats and carbohydrates cannot build nitrogenous tissue, for protein contains nitrogen and they do not. Chemists have devised ways for estimating the fuel value, or to use a more correct term, the potential energy of the nutrients of food. This is expressed in heat units, called Calories, the Calorie being the amount of heat that would raise a kilogram of water one degree centigrade or one pound of water about four degrees Fahrenheit. One Calorie corresponds to 1.52 foot-tons. A gram (453.6 grams make a pound avoirdupois) of protein or a gram of carbohydrates is estimated to contain on the average 4.1 Calories, and a gram of fats 9.3 Calories, of energy. A pound of rather fat sirloin of beef would contain about 900, a pound of butter 3,500, a pound of wheat flour about 1,600, and a pound of potatoes 340 Calories. The potatoes yield so little because they are three-quarters water, the butter so much because it is mostly fat. In the adjusting of diet to the demands of the body, the important matter is to provide enough protein for the building and repair of tissue and enough energy to keep it warm and do its work. Considering the body as a machine, there must be material to make it and keep it in repair and fuel to supply heat and power. If there is not food enough or the nutrients are not in the right proportions, the body will be weak in its structure and inefficient in its work. If there is too much, damage to health will result.

One of the ways in which a great deal of bad economy is practised is in the buying of high-priced foods. The cheapest food is that which supplies the most nutriment for the least money. The most economical food is that which is the cheapest and at the same time

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the best adapted to the wants of the user. The maxim that "the best is the cheapest" does not apply to food. The best food, in the sense of that which is sold at the highest price, is not generally the cheapest, nor is it always the most healthful or economical. Salmon and tenderloin of beef at seventy-five cents a pound are no more nutritious than halibut or shoulder steak at ten or fifteen cents a pound. There is as much of the actual nutrients, and these are just as valuable for supplying the wants of the body, in the cheaper as in the dearer material. A large part of the price we pay for the costlier food materials goes for the flavor. A cook who understands how can make a toothsome dish from a cheap cut of beef; one who does not can spoil a tenderloin.

If I buy a pound of sirloin steak for twenty-five cents, I get about three-tenths of a pound of actually nutritive material, with fifteen-hundredths of a pound of protein and enough fat in addition to yield some 870 Calories of energy. If I am content with a cheaper cut of beef, say from the fore-quarter at twelve and a half cents a pound and of like composition, of course I get twice as much nutritive material for the same money. The same twenty-five cents invested in a pint of oysters, weighing a pound, would bring only six-hundredths of a pound of protein and 230 Calories of energy; but if it be invested in flour at three cents a pound, it will buy seven and one-quarter pounds of actually nutritive material with nearly a fuel value of 12,000 Calories of energy. It is a noteworthy and lamentable fact that a very large body of people of moderate incomes insist upon purchasing the dearest kinds of food. Well-to-do people are apt to be content to economize, but many with small incomes insist on having "the best," regardless of cost. The wage-workers of the United States waste enough in this way to make a very great difference in the comfort and satisfaction of their living if the money were saved and used in wiser ways.

It would be an interesting study of our social economy to find how much of our food we literally throw away. In the dietary investigations above cited, numerous cases were observed in which from an eighth to a tenth of the actual nutrients of the food were rejected in the wastes of the table and kitchen. People in this country eat whatsoever is set before them, asking no questions for economy's sake, provided it suits their taste. The saddest part of the story is that it is the poor man's money that is worse spent in the market and the poor man's food that is worst cooked and served at home.

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I have said that our diet is one-sided—that the food which we actually eat, leaving out of account that which we throw away, has relatively too little protein and too much fat, starch, and sugar. This is due partly to our large consumption of sugar and partly to our use of such large quantities of fat meats. In the statistics above referred to, the quantities of fat in the European dietaries range from one to five ounces per day, while in the American the range is from four to sixteen ounces. In the daily food of well-to-do professional men in Germany, who were amply nourished, the quantity of fat is from three to four and one-half ounces per day; while in the dietaries of Americans in similar conditions of life it ranges from five to seven and one-half ounces in the food purchased. The quantities of carbohydrates in the European dietaries range from nine to twenty-four ounces, while in the corresponding American dietaries the carbohydrates were from twenty-four to sixty ounces.

Chemists estimate the proportion of fuel ingredients to protein in what is called the "nutritive ratio." In this estimate one part by weight of fats is counted as equivalent to two and one-quarter of carbohydrates. Adding the two together gives the amount of the fuel ingredients. In the American dietaries the proportion of fuel ingredients to one part of protein ranges from six and six-tenths to eight and two-tenths, and even higher. In the European dietaries of well-nourished people and in the dietary standards which express the average needs according to the teachings of the best physiological observations, it is from four and one-tenth to six or thereabouts. The rejection of so much of the fat of meat at the market and on our plates at the table is not mere wilful wastefulness. It is in obedience to nature's protest against a one-sided and excessive diet.

Our chief excesses are in our consumption of meats and sweetmeats. Our agricultural conditions have caused the excessive fatness of our meats. A taste, perhaps not vitiated but certainly not correct from the hygienic standpoint, has given preference to the very fat meats, though fortunately a reaction is beginning to make itself manifest. We are fond of sugar and of the delicacies of which it forms a part. But the most remarkable thing about our food consumption is the quantity. The American dietaries examined in the inquiry mentioned above were of people living at the time in Massachusetts and Connecticut, though many came from other parts of the country. It would be wrong to take their eating habits as an exact measure of those of people throughout the United States. For that

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matter, a great deal of careful observation will be needed to show precisely what and how much is used by persons of different classes in different regions. But such facts as I have been able to gather seem to imply that the figures obtained indicate in a general way the character of our food consumption. Of the nearly fifty dietaries examined, the smallest was that of the family of a chemist who had been studying the subject and had learned something of the excessive amounts of food which many people with light muscular labor consume. This dietary supplied 3,200 Calories of energy per man a day. The largest was that of brickmakers at very severe work in Massachusetts. They lived in a boarding-house managed by their employers, who had evidently found that men at hard muscular work out of doors needed ample nourishment to do the largest amount of work. The food supplied 8,850 Calories per day!

Voit's standard for a laboring-man at moderate work, which is based upon the observations of the food of wage-workers who are counted in Germany as well paid and well fed, allows 118 grams of protein and 3,055 Calories of energy. The dietaries of Massachusetts and Connecticut factory operatives, day laborers, and mechanics at moderate work averaged about 125 grams of protein and 4,500 Calories of energy. For a man at "severe" work, Voit's standard calls for 145 grams of protein and 3,370 Calories of energy. The Massachusetts and Connecticut mechanics at "hard" and "severe" work had from 180 to 250 grams of protein and from 500 to 7,800 Calories of potential energy, and in one case it rose to the 8,850 just quoted. In the dietary standards proposed by myself, in which the studies of American dietaries have been taken into account, it did not seem to me permissible to assign less than 4,000 Calories to that for a workingman at "hard" and 5,700 for a man at "severe" work. Just what compounds in food are required for the nutriment of the brain, physiological chemistry has not yet told us; but it is certain that people with little muscular exercise require less food than those at hard muscular labor. Many men whose work and strain are mental rather than physical suffer from over-eating. In a number of dietaries of professional men in Germany, Denmark, and Sweden, including a university professor, a lawyer, physicians and students, all of whom were in comfortable circumstances, in good health, and amply nourished, the energy varied from 2,325 to 2,835 Calories; the average of all was 2,670 Calories. The average of five dietaries of professional men and students from the Northern and Eastern States, residing in

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Middletown, Conn., was 4,140 Calories; the range was from 3,205 in the family of the chemist to whom I have referred to 5,345 in a students' boarding-club. These figures, like the others of the American dietaries cited, refer to the food purchased. In the students' dietary the food eaten supplied 4,825 Calories.

Now, it is not easy to see why these men required so much more than was sufficient to nourish abundantly men of like occupation, but unlike temptation to over-eating, in Europe. Difference in climate cannot account for it. We are a little more given to muscular exercise here, which is very well for us, but it cannot justify our eating so much. In the German army, where especial attention is given to diet and it is an axiom that soldiers to march well and fight well must be well fed, a ration for time of peace has been computed at 2,800 Calories, for time of war at 3,095; and an extraordinary war ration for service in the field in which the soldiers are most severely tried supplies 3,985 Calories. If a man with a tremendous physical and nervous tension required in such terrible service as the German soldier was a few years ago called upon to render in his victorious contests with the Frenchman, is well supplied by a ration of less than 4,000 Calories of energy, and German professional men in their quiet but active and successful intellectual work at home are amply nourished with 2,700 Calories and less, how happens it that men of like occupation here consume food with 4,000 Calories and more?

I think the answer to this question is found in the conditions in which we live. Food is plenty. Holding to a tradition which had its origin where food was less abundant, that the natural instinct is the measure of what we should eat, we follow the dictates of the palate. Living in the midst of abundance, our diet has not been regulated by the restraints which obtain with the great majority of the people of the Old World, where food is dear and incomes are small. How much harm is done to health by our one-sided and excessive diet, no one can say. Physicians tell us that it is very great. Of the vice of over-eating, Sir Henry Thompson, a noted English physician and authority on this subject, says:

"I have come to the conclusion that more than half the disease which embitters the middle and latter part of life is due to avoidable errors in diet, . . . and that more mischief in the form of actual disease, of impaired vigor, and of shortened life accrues to civilized man . . . in England and throughout central Europe from erroneous habits of eating than from the habitual use of alcoholic drink, considerable as I know that evil to be."

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But there is another side to this picture. It is brought out by the comparison of the food of wage-workers here and in Europe. The smallest among the American dietaries of this class examined furnished 3,500 Calories of energy per man per day. The average of seven dietaries of 421 persons in Massachusetts, of factory operatives, mechanics, etc., at moderate work, was 4,415 Calories; and that of four dietaries of mechanics and laborers in Connecticut at severe work, 6,705. In this latter the dietary of the Massachusetts brickmakers with their 8,850 Calories was not included. The average of twenty dietaries of wage-workers in the two States named was 5,275 Calories. In a large number of European dietaries of which I have obtained statistics there are many which range from only 1,700 to 1,900 Calories. Of course these are of relatively poor people. The average of eleven dietaries of poorly fed wage-workers in Saxony and Prussia is 2,290. The average of the same number of dietaries of well-paid mechanics in Bavaria is 3,150. The largest European dietary I have found on record for men in ordinary conditions, even with the severest labor, gives in the neighborhood of 4,500. The American workingmen whose dietaries were examined were better nourished by half than their transatlantic brethren. These comparisons have, I believe, a profound significance.

The dietary statistics above cited, taken with the collateral facts, lead to the inference that ordinary people have with us what only the exceptionally well-fed have on the other side of the Atlantic—the food they need to make the most of themselves and their work. Indeed, is it not safe to say that so far as the facts at hand go, they imply very distinctly that to the American workingman is vouchsafed the priceless gift which is denied to most people of the world, namely, the physical conditions, including especially the liberal nourishment, which are essential to large production, high wages, and the highest physical existence, and that as a corollary he has a like peculiar opportunity for intellectual and moral development and progress? To my own mind, the saddest part of the picture that one sees among the industrious and worthy members of the poorly paid and poorly fed classes in Europe is not the physical want, but the spiritual poverty, the lack of buoyancy, the mute, hopeless endurance of their lives. And, by contrast, the happiest feature in the condition of wage-workers with us is not simply that they have better food, better clothing, better houses, and a better material existence in general, but that they have what these things bring—the vigor, the ambition, the

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hope for higher things—and that their effort leads them to the realization of their hope.

The general principle here urged is that liberal food, large production, and higher wages go together. If this be true, the connection between the American's generous diet and his high wages is very clear. The question naturally follows: What is to be done for the future maintenance of the position of our laboring people at home and in their competition with others in the markets of the world? Part of the answer, at any rate, must be sought in a reform in the purchase and use of food. Instead of our present wastefulness, there must be future saving. With increase of population and closer competition with the rest of the world, the abundance which tempts us to our lavishness must grow gradually less, and closer economy will be needed for living on our present plane of nutrition.

How will the coming man be nourished? If he follows the teachings which the science of nutrition will supply and the teachings of economy will enforce, his diet will be better fitted to his wants. If his work be intellectual, he will avoid excess. If it be physical, he will have enough to make the most of himself and his work. He will learn to economize in the purchase and use of his food, and devote that part of his income which he saves thereby to meeting his higher needs. These considerations suggest another question: Has man yet reached his highest development? The poorer classes of people—and few of us realize how numerous they are—the world over are scantily nourished. The majority of mankind live on a nutritive plane far below that with which we are familiar. We may hope for the best culture, not of the intellectual powers, but of the higher Christian graces in the minds and hearts of men, in proportion as the care of their bodies is provided for. Happily, with advance of knowledge comes the improvement of material conditions. May we not hope that the future development of our race will bring that provision for physical wants which is requisite for the best welfare of mind and soul?

In order that this consummation may come to pass, more information is necessary. Its basis must be research of the highest order. The subject is new; in its study we stand upon the borders of a continent of which only a small portion has been explored. In the great European universities investigation is active. In our own country extremely little is being done, and that little is dependent almost entirely upon private munificence for its support. The studies of American food and dietaries referred to above have been maintained chiefly

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at private expense. The great need is for abstract inquiry. The underlying problems are the conservation of matter and the conservation of energy in the living organism. We shall not be able to tell how to get the most nutriment for our money and how to fit our food to our actual needs until these problems are more nearly solved. It is the old story, so true and yet so hard to make people believe—that the knowledge which on the surface seems least practical is really the most indispensable and the most useful. Part of the inquiry that is wanted can and doubtless will be carried on at public cost, but the kind which reveals the fundamental laws of biological chemistry requires the atmosphere and the appliances of the university and can be accomplished only by the endowment of research. If a sufficient sum could be donated for this purpose it would bring fruit of untold value to the world, and to the donor the richest reward that a lover of his fellow-man can have.

W. O. Atwater.

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THE SLAUGHTER OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES.

An English writer on railways, in response to a statement of mine that the business of transportation by rail in England was conducted with greater regard to the life and limb of employees than in this country, replied: "Yes, that seems to be shown by statistics, but we in England pay too high a price for the lives thus saved." When asked what he meant by so cold-blooded a remark, he asserted that the cost entailed by the devices to make the business of transportation a safe one placed a value on the lives of railway employees higher than the value placed on the lives of employees in any other department of industry. Whether this be true in England or not—and I know of no way of testing its accuracy—it certainly does not apply to the United States.

The facts in the case are somewhat startling. The total number of railway employees on June 30, 1890, was 749,301. The number killed during the twelve months preceding was 2,451 and the number injured 22,396. This means one death for every 306 and one injury for every 30 men employed. Confining the statement to those employees engaged directly in the handling of trains, that is to say, engineers, firemen, conductors, and other trainmen, the results are beyond the experience in any other business or trade. The number of employees of this class was 153,235, and out of this number there occurred during the year 1,459 deaths and 13,172 injuries due to some form of railway accident. This means one death for every 105 and one injury for every 12 men engaged in handling trains. In no other employment, not even in mining, which is a most dangerous occupation, can such results be shown.

It is such facts as these that have given rise to renewed agitation for legislation requiring the use of safety appliances. The Interstate Commerce Commission recently received a petition signed by 10,000 railway employees asking that the matter be taken up with vigorous purpose. President Harrison has interested himself in the matter, and on each succeeding January for three years has sent a special message to Congress calling the attention of that body to the imperative ne-

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cessity for some action. "It is," he said, "a reproach to our civilization that any class of American workmen should, in the pursuit of a useful and necessary vocation, be subjected to peril of life and limb as great as that of a soldier in time of war." In one respect this demand of railway employees for the protection of the law comes with greater force than a similar demand would come from any other class of workers, for they cannot to any great degree guard against casualties to which they are exposed. They incur the risks while others determine the conditions on which those risks depend. It may be true that an increase of general intelligence will tend to decrease casualties, but no degree of intelligence or of personal care can insure safety in the presence of dangerous conditions. It is this fact which gives to the demand of railway men for legislation a special significance.

But what, it may be asked, is the nature of the accidents to which railway men are exposed? For upon this depends the decision whether or not the danger of railway employment can be obviated in any degree by the intervention of law. This question may be most easily answered by the insertion of a short table taken from the last report on statistics of railways in the United States. It shows the number killed and injured for each class of accident named, and the percentage of casualties in each class to total casualties:

Kind of Accident.	Totals.		Per cent.	
	Killed.	Injured.	Killed.	Injured.
Coupling and uncoupling	369	7,842	15.05	35.02
Falling from trains and engines	561	2,363	22.89	10.55
Overhead obstructions	89	345	3.63	1.54
Collisions	235	1,034	9.59	4.62
Derailments	150	723	6.12	3.23
Other train accidents	146	831	5.96	3.71
At highway crossings	22	34	.89	.15
At stations	98	740	4.00	3.30
Other causes	754	8,248	30.77	36.83
Unclassified	27	236	1.10	1.05
Totals	2,451	22,396	100	100

A glance at these figures indicates at once where the chief danger lies. The total number killed in coupling and uncoupling cars was 369 and the number injured was 7,842; while the total number killed in falling from trains and engines was 561 and the total number injured was 2,363. That is to say, 37.94 per cent of the total number of deaths and 45.57 per cent of the total number of injuries sustained by railway employees resulted while coupling cars or setting brakes.

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It is not necessary to treat these two classes of accidents separately, for the considerations respecting them, so far as any proposals for legislation are concerned, are altogether the same. The great danger to which employees are exposed in coupling and uncoupling cars and in setting brakes furnishes the basis in part for the argument so persistently urged, and up to the present time as persistently resisted by Congress, that all cars and locomotives should be furnished with automatic couplers and train brakes. The efficiency of such devices, provided that all cars and locomotives be furnished with the same type of coupler and brake, is, I believe, generally admitted.

The only question pertains to the type to be adopted and the means of securing its universal use. This is the gist of the problem; for without uniformity the danger to employees is as great as with the old link-and-pin coupler and hand brake. Indeed, there are many who urge that lack of uniformity increases rather than decreases the danger to employees. Such being the case, one point at least lies beyond controversy. The only legislative body capable of dealing with safety appliances of the sort named is Congress, for Congress alone enjoys a jurisdiction sufficiently extended. State railway commissions recognize this to be true, and in every convention which they have held have urged the matter upon the attention of Congress. If government is to deal with this problem at all, it is the Federal Government that must act.

But shall government deal with this question at all? The position of railway managers when called upon to express an opinion is that progress is being made with a satisfactory degree of rapidity, and that government has no occasion to take any decisive steps in the matter. In a recent hearing before the Interstate Commerce Commission, there were many expressions to this effect. One representative of a Western road urged that legislation would be unwise because unnecessary, and unnecessary "because all the roads of the country are moving in the direction sought as rapidly without legislation as it will be possible for them to move in pursuance of legislation." And the president of an Eastern road remarked: "I can say there is great progress being made; that in the adoption both of the coupler and the air-brake we are away ahead of England, with all its legislation." If it be true that railways are of their own accord doing all that can be desired, this suggestion is certainly a wise one. There is no occasion for government to do what the corporations are doing on their own initiative. The facts in the case, however, do not bear out the assertion of rail-

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way managers. The condition of railway equipment at the present time and the rate at which improved couplers and train brakes are being adopted scarcely justify so optimistic a conclusion. The facts are presented in the following table, which shows the railway equipment on June 30, 1890, and the increase in the items named compared with June 30, 1889:

A. Locomotives.

Items.	Passenger Service.	Freight Service.	Totals.[1]
Total locomotives in 1890	8,384	16,140	29,928
Total fitted with automatic couplers	823	104	955
Total fitted with train brakes	8,190	9,527	20,162
Increase in total over 1889	305	1,000	1,892
Increase fitted with automatic couplers	645	60	733
Increase fitted with train brakes	484	785	2,167

B. Cars.

Items.	Passenger Service.	Freight Service.	Totals.[2]
Total cars in 1890	26,511	1,105,042	1,164,188
Total fitted with automatic couplers	25,551	87,390	114,364
Total fitted with train brakes	25,330	100,990	128,241
Increase in total over 1889	846	93,808	95,633
Increase fitted with automatic couplers	2,203	31,890	34,706
Increase fitted with train brakes	1,790	16,331	18,077

There are two significant facts brought to light by the data presented above. In the first place, by comparing the total equipment with the equipment furnished with automatic couplers and train brakes, while it appears that little remains to be done so far as locomotives and cars engaged in passenger service are concerned, it is evident that in the freight service everything remains to be done. Out of a total of 1,105,042 cars used in freight service, there are but 87,390 fitted with automatic couplers and but 100,990 equipped with train brakes. We can well understand, in the light of such figures, when taken in connection with the fact that there are 44 different kinds of couplers and 9 kinds of train brakes in actual use, that so-called safety appliances, as at present used, increase rather than decrease the danger of railway employment. In the second place, the figures show that the increase in the total equipment during the year

[1] Include unclassified and switching locomotives.

[2] Include unclassified cars and those in companies' service.

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is greater than the increase in the equipment fitted with automatic couplers and train brakes. Thus, the increase in cars assigned to freight service during the year was 93,808; while the increase in the number fitted with automatic couplers was but 31,890 and the increase in the number fitted with train brakes was 16,331. Of locomotives, out of an increase of 1,000 assigned to freight service, 60 are reported to have been fitted with automatic couplers and 785 with train brakes. How many years, at such a rate of progress, would it take for the total equipment to be fitted with automatic couplers and train brakes?

It is doubtless true that figures covering a single year are not adequate for a final conclusion, but while admitting this, one cannot escape the conviction that the good intention of railway managers requires the assistance of legislation to render it effective. It is, however, not necessary to rely on statistics for so important a conclusion, for a slight consideration of the nature of the question shows that it is practically impossible for the carriers, unaided by law, to secure the universal use of couplers and brakes of a uniform type. The aid of government is requried, not so much to coerce reluctant companies as to arbitrate between the advocates of various patents.

That the above conclusion is correct, and that the great obstacle to safety appliances on railways is the inability of carriers to agree on any pattern or type, is evidenced by the text of the various bills proposed. Without considering these bills in detail one word may be said respecting them. They all agree in regarding uniformity and universality in use as of more importance than the adoption of any particular style of coupler or brake, and most of them further agree in allowing the carriers to decide by ballot what particular style of coupler or brake shall be adopted. The type being in this manner determined, it is proposed that the law shall require that all cars and locomotives, within a prescribed time, varying from six months to ten years, shall be equipped with the couplers and brakes decided upon. Manifestly, it is a very delicate matter for the Government to say which of the many styles of couplers now in use shall be adopted to the exclusion of all others, or, indeed, which of the several types now used shall be made the standard type; for in so doing it would incur the danger of creating a burdensome and pernicious monopoly. The experience of Congress in requiring vessels on the Great Lakes to carry life-line projectiles is too recent to encourage its repetition in the matter of couplers and brakes. The danger is certainly great; but the necessity is imperative. The circumstances justify extreme measures.

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Even men of conservative temperament advocate the purchase by the Government, if necessary, of the patents of the approved type of coupler or brake, and the granting of their use free of royalty to the railways. This policy is by no means above criticism, but it is perhaps, all things considered, more feasible than any other plan proposed, and more nearly in harmony with the principles which underlie our political and industrial society. The expense would be slight; it would be almost nothing as compared with the expenditure of nearly a million of dollars each year in rescuing shipwrecked seamen.

Another class of casualties to which railway employees are exposed are such as result from accidents to trains, that is to say, collisions, derailments, and other train accidents, and in these the travelling public is also interested. By reference to the first of the above tables, it will be observed that 21.67 per cent of all deaths and 11.56 per cent of all injuries sustained by railway employees were due to the causes named. Collisions are responsible for 235 killed and for 1,034 injured; derailments are responsible for 150 killed and for 723 injured; while other train accidents account for 146 killed and for 831 injured. Such facts as these lead one to inquire if anything can be done to lessen the frequency of railway accidents of this class.

The impression among expert railway managers is that the number of collisions might be materially reduced by the general use of the block system in the handling of trains. There are at present no statistics on this point so far as railways in the United States are concerned, although such statistics are sadly needed; but the estimates of those who claim to know most on the subject are to the effect that not more than 10 or 15 per cent of railway mileage in the country is operated on the block system. It is very probable that before the highest degree of safety can be attained the Government will be obliged to take this matter also into consideration.

Casualties due to derailments and miscellaneous train accidents are not such as bring naturally to mind any single measure for their prevention. They do suggest, however, the need for a more careful inspection of roadway and structure and of better organization and supervision in railway administration. This, perhaps, can be best accomplished by bringing railway managers and railway employees to an adequate appreciation of their personal responsibility; and the laws of the various States seem to have partially recognized this necessity. Out of thirty States having railway commissions, the commissioners of eighteen are required to investigate causes of accidents, and in twenty-

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three of these States commissioners are imposed with the duty of inspecting roadway and structure. In some cases this duty is well performed, but it may be doubted if, as a rule, these laws have met the general expectation. They illustrate well a peculiar defect of American legislation, for they impose a duty without granting adequate authority for its performance. It is altogether likely, although a discussion of this point is impossible at the present time, that it will be found necessary for the Federal Government to extend its jurisdiction in this direction also, and to establish for the railway industry a board of inspection and control similar to the board of steamboat inspection now organized under the Treasury Department.

Of one fact there can be no question: No legislation can hope to be effective which does not rest upon a detailed knowledge of facts, and to attain the facts in question will require the creation of a board whose entire attention shall be directed to the technical problems of railway management so far as the safety of railway employees and passengers is concerned. This, it is believed, will be the ultimate outcome of the present agitation which the publication of railway statistics seems to have stimulated so strongly. No amount of legislation, however comprehensive in purpose or minute in detail, can take the place of constant vigilance and personal investigation.

HENRY C. ADAMS.

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SHALL WE HAVE ENDOWED OPERA?

In America the prospects of music are bright. As a people we are beginning to appreciate the æsthetic importance of the musical art as one of the chief factors of modern culture. During the past generation great progress has been made in this country in almost all its branches. In the field of orchestral and choral music our principal cities vie with one another. Boston points with pride to her permanent Symphony Orchestra, thanks to the munificence of Mr. Higginson, her venerable Handel and Haydn Society, her Apollo and Cecilia clubs, and her Singers' Society. New York has her famous Philharmonic Concerts and her Symphony Orchestra established through the liberality of Mr. Carnegie. Chicago has her permanent orchestra (under the great leadership of Theodore Thomas) and her Apollo Club directed by Mr. Tomlins. Cincinnati is noted for her musical festivals. Baltimore has her orchestral concerts of the Peabody Institute. Choral societies abound throughout the land, and there is no dearth of concerts. But there is one thing lacking: we have no opera worthy of the name, with the single exception of the performances at the Metropolitan Opera-House in New York.

The concert-room should not be the only arena of music. While it may be conceded that the great instrumental forms fulfil the highest ideal of music as a separate art, music in connection with the drama is able to exercise the most potent and universal power over the hearts and minds of the people. The musical drama appeals not only to the cultivated and trained music-lover, but to the ordinary hearer as well; for the eye helps the ear, the dramatic scene and action intensifying the emotional expression of the music. Music has thus been associated with the drama from antiquity to the present day. Greek tragedy depended on music to give full expression to its lyric moods. Even in the Christian church for centuries it was the custom to give musical and dramatic representations as a portion of the service. The "Popular Mysteries" and "Passion Plays" were an important feature of mediæval life. The history of the opera from the year 1600 to Gluck and Mozart shows what a mighty influence this

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branch of music has exercised; for we owe to those of the Italians who developed the opera the main elements of modern music, melody and homophonous instrumental accompaniment, the art of solo-singing, the foundation of the modern orchestra, and the establishment of instrumental music as a separate branch, in the forms of sonata, concerto, overture, and symphony. As for the great achievements in opera by the masters of the nineteenth century, we have only to point to the names of Beethoven, Von Weber, Rossini, Verdi, Cherubini, Auber, Meyerbeer, Gounod, and finally to the epoch-making Wagner.

Whatever may be thought of the relative importance of the different branches of music, it must be acknowledged that the opera, or musical drama, fills most of the pages of the history of music with its brilliant achievements, and is above all others the one which is destined to undergo the greatest changes in the future, inasmuch as the problem of the relation of music to the drama has never been completely solved and probably never will be. Nevertheless, the composers of the future will all strive to solve this problem, just as they have since Peri and Caccini first made the attempt in their *tragedia per musica*. The drama of life is eternal, and therefore mankind always has had and always will have an intense love for dramatic representations. Music always has been and always will be employed as a potent means of heightening the effect of the drama. Through the genius of Mozart and other modern composers, music even has held the prerogative in its connection with the stage. It is a self-evident fact that the musical drama is a branch of art that should not be neglected in a country that prides itself on its high civilization.

Therefore it is humiliating to admit that it is neglected in America, the only highly civilized country except England where the opera is not well encouraged and supported. We have given to it the most meagre and intermittent encouragement. Until within the past few years we have not had in America a system of opera which has had in it any characteristics of permanency. It is true, however, that nearly every winter some aspiring manager endeavors to give operatic performances in various cities of America, sometimes with success, created usually by the ability of one or more famous singers rather than by the intrinsic excellence of the performances as a whole. The defects of these performances are generally shown in the orchestra, chorus, and scenic effects. The *ensemble* is often bad, owing to hurried rehearsals and lack of thorougness everywhere. These efforts often end with artistic failure and complete financial disaster.

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Mention should be made of the short-lived attempt a few years ago to introduce in America opera sung in English. This was a most worthy undertaking, the promoters of which were actuated by the highest artistic aims; but partly owing to unfavorable circumstances, partly to inexperience, lavish expenditure, and mismanagement, it is alleged, the laudable enterprise failed, after winning popularity everywhere and making a brilliant musical record, at the great pecuniary sacrifice of most of those concerned in it. This failure, however, cannot justly be urged as an argument against the future establishment of opera in this country, any more than the example of the financial collapse of a railroad or bank proves the instability of similar establishments conducted on a more conservative and economical basis, according to a wise and far-seeing policy.

The erection of the Metropolitan Opera-House in New York a few years ago was practically the initial step toward the maintenance of permanent opera in this country. But the conditions of its establishment are such that although it has had a most brilliant history, especially in the representation of the Wagnerian drama under Mr. Seidl's able direction, there is danger that it may fail to fulfil the highest aim of the musical drama and thus disappoint those who have the true interests of music at heart. Its permanency is not fully assured, subject as it is to the caprices of patrons who apparently look upon the opera as a mere fashionable diversion, and, with few exceptions, probably have little devotion to music. If at any time their interest in the opera should flag and they should withdraw their support from it, the building would probably be sold and devoted to purposes far remote from music, and the hopes of the true lovers of opera would consequently be destroyed. Small annual subscriptions by a large number of persons who engage their boxes by the season cannot always be relied upon to cover the expenses. During years of business depression the subscriptions would naturally fall off, and in consequence the opera might be suddenly discontinued. If our colleges were entirely supported by annual subscriptions instead of being founded largely on endowments, they would lead a precarious existence and would not fulfil their high aim. Under its present conditions it cannot be claimed for the Metropolitan Opera-House that it is a public institution having the stability which belongs to an institution that represents a far-reaching policy and untiring energy in behalf of the intellectual advancement of the people. As it is now conducted, opera is given there only about five months each season. Compare this record with that of Vienna,

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Dresden, Paris, Munich, or Berlin, where regular operatic representations are regularly given about nine months of the year.

Other American cities have no opera at all except that furnished by the irregular visits of travelling companies which are usually below the highest standard of efficiency and can hardly be said to encourage musical culture. A thoroughly organized opera-company cannot be transported from place to place like a train of goods or a travelling circus without artistic demoralization. The fatigue and exposure of travel, inadequate rehearsals, overwork from the extra number of performances each week, difficulty of adapting scenery and stage machinery to the various theatres, and acoustic differences, are some of the drawbacks that inevitably count against perfect representations. Is there not a loss of artistic dignity in this? Imagine the Paris opera or the royal opera of Vienna "on the road"! In this country opera is too often placed on the basis of a travelling show, conducted for the purpose of making money, with little reference to art as such, though it must be acknowledged that it often gives the public opportunities to hear opera sung and played by able artists. Even such a city as Boston considers itself fortunate if it is enabled to hear opera for a fortnight during each season.

One does not have to study very deeply into the conditions of American life to discover why opera has so long been neglected in this country. We are a new nation, perhaps the richest in the world, and for the past half-century we have been so absorbed by our commercial interests that we have not given sufficient time or attention to the more refining influences of the arts. So far as money is concerned, there should be no difficulty in establishing here a permanent, well-organized opera; but the difficulty lies in persuading men whose lives have been so devoted to the pursuits of trade that they have in many instances apparently lost to a large degree their capacity for the higher enjoyments to contribute to its support. Besides, we have inherited a prejudice against all forms of the drama, which is perhaps as deep-seated as any of the prejudices which retard the progress of civilization.

This prejudice may be traced from our forefathers, and to it may possibly be due the fact that in England opera has always been produced under foreign influences. For a number of years at the beginning of the eighteenth century Handel directed the performances of the Italian opera, sung chiefly by Italians. At this period the *Castrati* invaded the country in large numbers, and the English nobility abandoned Handel for the sake of these singers. Practically no encour-

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agement was given to English opera, that is, opera sung in the English language. It is true that the "Beggars' Opera" was written and performed in English, but it was a trivial and weak attempt and made no permanent change in the traditions, though it had a temporary success and was followed by light English operas similar to it. Handel, driven for a time from his operatic work, turned his attention to oratorio, and in this new field was able to express his dramatic talent with far greater success than he had done in opera. His "Samson," for example, has great dramatic characteristics. Besides, his oratorios were written in English, and he thus had the inestimable advantage of being able to make a direct appeal to the hearts of the English people, who responded with intense enthusiasm, and until his death he continued to be the supreme master of musical taste in England.

Since that time England has bowed down to foreign opera, and native opera has been a secondary thing. During the past seventeen years, however, Carl Rosa's organization for the production of operatic works in English has done much to arouse the national feeling for native opera. But, notwithstanding his noble endeavors, English opera is not yet organized on a broad, national basis. Italian opera still reigns supreme in England, supported by the subscriptions of the rich, but it is sung only during the fashionable season in London. Consequently it can hardly be said to be directed according to the highest principles of art, and it is notorious that art does not thrive under the frigid ministrations of fashion. One has only to examine the list of operas given in London during the season to become convinced of the entire subserviency of English taste to foreign influences in music. Nearly every opera produced there is sung in a foreign language. In France and Germany they are sensible and patriotic enough to translate the texts of operas into their own tongue. Unfortunately, in England and America there is no true national feeling with regard to dramatic music; if there were, it would be shown by the production of operas in the English language. These cannot of course be intelligible when they are sung in a language unknown to nine-tenths of the people who listen to them. Though it is true one may not be able to catch every word in an opera even if it is sung in the vernacular, yet one can hear enough to understand the drift of the declamation and action.

In England, Italian singers have long held sway, and the custom of singing the operas in Italian has lasted from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present day. No doubt singers prefer to sing in Italian for the reason that it is the most musical language.

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But the singers of the established opera-houses of Germany and France have to give way to the rule that all operas shall be sung in the vernacular. In Germany, Italian and French operas are sung in German; in France, German and Italian operas are sung in French. The English language of Shakespeare and Milton and Tennyson is certainly capable of as musical treatment as the guttural German or the nasal French. The plays of Shakespeare have been so well translated into German by Schlegel and others that they preserve with wonderful fidelity the spirit and meaning of the original; therefore Shakespeare has become a part of the literature of the German people.

I have heard the objection made to the translation of librettos on the ground that it injures them from a literary point of view. This seems to me to be unfounded. Very few librettos have great merit as poetry, so far as the lyric form is concerned. Wagner's opera-poems and some of the French—as, for instance, "The Huguenots" and "Romeo and Juliet"—are worthy of the name of poetry, besides being strong in dramatic expression. In translation, lyric verses may lose something of their original beauty and flavor; but what is lost here is more than compensated for by their intelligibility to the large majority of the audience, who otherwise would have but little clew to the meaning of many a situation which cannot be explained fully by the pantomime. When, in "Fidelio," Pizarro says, "*Ein Stoss, er ist verstummt*," the meaning is entirely lost to an American audience. The same idea can be expressed just as forcibly and literally in English, "A blow, and he is dumb." This instance is only one of a thousand. When we consider the long monologues of Hans Sachs in "The Mastersingers" and the interminable recital of Wotan in "The Valkyrs," and many other situations in Wagner's dramas having but little action, we feel keenly the absurdity of singing in a foreign tongue to large audiences of Americans who have no knowledge of German. What a loss this is to the composer, whose musical effects depend on the meaning of the words as well as the action.

Alas! it seems that English-speaking people absolutely prefer vagueness and unintelligibility so far as music is concerned. Perhaps this is the reason why our singers as a class are not trained to sing English words distinctly. There are, however, notable exceptions among our public singers in England and America, especially our oratorio singers, who are distinguished for their perfect enunciation of the English words. All this is a matter of careful training and habit. There is no reason why most words of an opera sung in English

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should not be clearly understood, at least clearly enough to enable the audience to follow the action throughout. English words when well chosen for a translation make as euphonious an effect as either French or German. All depends on the judgment and skill of the translator, who should always be a good musician and have literary training as a versifier. Most translations of opera librettos are consigned to incompetent and ill-paid writers. Nothing could be more unreasonable than the taste which insists that works shall be given in Italian, French, or German before audiences to whom these languages are unknown. One of the first principles on which a permanent American opera should be founded is that every work which it presents, whether the work have its origin in Germany, Italy, or France, shall be given in English.

It is a satisfaction to note that America is outgrowing the hide-bound prejudices with regard to the musical art which have so long existed. We are a composite people, subject to influences from all nations, in which the German element predominates. The Puritan idea is fast disappearing under the more genial modern conceptions of life. In a country where business and practical matters in general are so pressing as in our own, we need, especially, recreation and diversion. It must be acknowledged that in most American cities life is apt to be dull. Public entertainments are well supplied so far as the concert and lecture room are concerned, but neither these nor the theatre entirely fulfil the want of a large class of people of taste and refinement. The opera, if conducted here as it is in German cities, such as Dresden, Munich, and Vienna, would appeal to all classes. In Europe people of very small means are enabled to attend operatic performances. The scale of prices is arranged to meet the wants of every one, and thereby the opera serves to educate the taste and give an æsthetic pleasure to all, from the prince to the artisan being thus a potent means of art culture. The one-sidedness of our cities is certainly patent to observers when they compare the conditions of life here with those that prevail in Europe. In the absence of such refined, elevating amusements a large number of Americans flock to Europe, partly in order to enjoy the great opportunities of hearing opera at Bayreuth, Paris, Vienna, and other cities. It is astonishing how many opportunities there are in comparatively small places in Europe to hear good opera. Not only in such centres as Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Dresden, but in cities like Hamburg, Bremen, Frankfort, Stuttgart, Munich, Mannheim, Prague, Cassel, Leipsic, Brussels, and Cologne, standard works of all schools, German, French, and Italian, are produced

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in a most satisfactory manner. Though we of course cannot expect to outrival Europe in the universality of opera, yet our principal cities have the wealth and ought to have the desire no longer to neglect this important factor of modern culture.

Public efforts are constantly being made in this country to establish and build up our picture-galleries, libraries, and institutions of learning; but the opera, which has its special function to perform as a means of culture, and which might exert quite as important and worthy an influence as any of these, is almost wholly neglected. In France and Germany, the government seems to regard music as well worthy of aid and promotion as the university and the public library or art gallery. It is not considered simply a diversion for people of leisure; the social element exists, but is not paramount in these countries, and the people at large take a serious view of it. Opera in England and America is conducted by managers whose interest in it is primarily a financial one and who treat it on the whole as a matter of business speculation. This is a lamentable fact to those who realize that opera cannot be properly maintained if it is not conducted on artistic principles, any more than a university can be if not guided by trained educators. It needs either the support of the government, which shall build the opera-houses and grant subsidies, as is the case in France and Germany, or the support of public-spirited individuals. It is unfortunate that the conditions of our Government make it impossible for us to look to it for support of the opera and theatre, for democratic institutions, with all their virtues, seem not to be able to promote the fine arts by direct aid. Party feeling in this country is such that no opera or similar institution can apparently be established here on a firm footing and placed in the hands of the Government, any more than in the case of our universities and colleges. The only way, therefore, to establish American opera would be by private endowment by one or more of our millionaires. They would thus do much to assist in the advancement of culture in this country. The first person to do this in America would immortalize himself. The opera would bear his name for all time. Surely he would be likely to gain more renown by this means than if he should swell the number of the already numerous founders of new "universities."

Assuming that out of the increasing number of millionaires of this country there is at least one public-spirited man of large views who will be willing to rise to this emergency, let me consider the question where such an institution as I have suggested should be established.

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The two chief centres of musical culture in the United States are New York and Boston. Of these, New York is the more conspicuous as the place from which nearly all the large undertakings of a commercial or artistic sort emanate. Boston, however, may still be said to retain its reputation for its devotion to music, letters, and art. Chicago, also, is making a rapid advance in music; it possesses one of the finest orchestras in the world and the most complete public musical library in the United States. A permanent opera ought to be successfully established in any one of these three cities. It must be first established in the city which promises most for its support, and on its success will depend the establishment of opera in other cities which shall be modelled upon it.

A few words as to the cost of an endowed opera. I should think that a capital of two millions of dollars would be sufficient to place and maintain it on a firm basis. Two millions more would be required for the construction or purchase of an opera-house. The interest from the endowment fund would provide for the annual deficit, though at times the opera would largely pay for itself. Any money saved could be devoted to a pension fund. The cost of giving opera on a permanently organized plan would be far less, relatively, than it is now. With moderate salaries and a system of long engagements for the artists, the expenses could be kept down to a minimum, and there is no doubt that people would form the habit of going to the opera if the prices were regulated according to their means. The scale of prices might range from fifty cents to five dollars, with higher prices for private boxes. There is no reason why an opera-house should not be conducted with as much economy, wisdom, high purpose, and far-seeing sagacity as a university or a railroad, so far as its financial affairs are concerned. But it should, of course, be maintained with the single purpose of making the opera a means of culture, as is the case with educational institutions. Just as every student at a university is a beneficiary, sharing the advantages which are provided by those who have given his college an endowment, so every patron of the opera would be a beneficiary, for he would enjoy at a slight cost to himself the advantages provided for him by the public spirit and generosity of those who established it.

The organization of such an institution as I have suggested should follow the general system of government that exists in our universities; that is, it should have a corporation and a board of directors or faculty, composed of musical experts, and connection should be made

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with established schools of solo and chorus singing, dramatic action, and orchestral playing. There are already several excellent conservatories in this country, with which arrangements might be made to contribute to this end. As to the *personnel* of the opera, it should consist, first, of at least two conductors and a chorus-master; secondly, of the usual chorus, which could easily be composed of Americans. As regards the soloists, they should be chosen from among the artists who are able to sing in English, and there are plenty of talented Americans who could ultimately fill these places. At the present time a number of the leading singers in the European theatres are Americans. Why not keep them in America to sing in our own opera?

The conductors, the orchestra, the chorus, and the larger part of the soloists should be appointed for a moderately long term of service, as they are in Germany and France. The system of permanent engagements does not preclude desirable changes in the *personnel*. At the established opera-houses of Europe, leave of absence enables their leading singers to make brief "star" engagements (*Gastrollen*) at other theatres. In this way an exchange goes on between the various opera-houses. Besides this, *débutantes* with fresh, young voices appear on the stage. By these means the public's craving for variety and novelty is satisfied. A position in the opera-house under these conditions would be a distinction from the outset. The ballet should be made a subordinate part; Wagner's attitude toward the ballet is preferable to the excessive prominence it receives in Paris and elsewhere. The fact that these positions were permanent, or for moderately long terms, would render it possible to make a more economical salary list than is the case now with our opera conducted by managers who have to pay a few great stars enormous prices. Exorbitant salaries are not offered to the leading singers of the German or Paris opera. The highest salaries are those paid in London, New York, and St. Petersburg. Opera conducted on the star system, with singers at a thousand dollars or more a night, is too dear a luxury for the people; only the rich can afford to patronize it regularly. The sums paid to Patti for a few performances would exceed the entire year's salary of any one of the great dramatic singers attached to the royal opera-houses of Germany. And yet these artists are well paid when we consider the advantages they enjoy—permanent engagements, leave of absence at intervals, and sure pensions that await them when they are obliged to leave the stage, owing to voice-failure or ill-health.

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After an honorable service of a certain term of years they retire on half or two-thirds pay for the rest of their lives. This excellent pension system is also available to all the artists—the conductor, orchestral musicians, and others. Not the least of the benefits which would result from the establishment of opera in this country would be its tendency to cure the evil which sacrifices the musical art to greed.

If such an opera were established on the plan that I have indicated, a native school of music would in course of time grow up, and we should have American opera given chiefly by American artists. I do not mean by this that foreign talent should be excluded; on the contrary, the *personnel* should be truly cosmopolitan. The repertory should embrace the operas of all schools. A protective policy pursued in the arts would be folly. But the fundamental characteristics of the institution should be American, and we should feel that it was a part of our national life. Certainly for the future of American composers this is the only way by which they can ever expect to accomplish much in this branch of music. In Europe, many of the greatest musicians have done their best work for the musical drama. In France and Italy there is no other great career open to composers. In Germany, too, we find in the history of the opera the names of Gluck, Mozart, Beethoven, Von Weber, Spohr, Marschner, and Wagner. What scope would there have been for Wagner in America? None whatever—he could not have existed here. Unless an opportunity is given for talent and genius to expand, unless it has some encouragement, it can achieve nothing, no matter how great it may be. The immense influence of circumstances in bringing about great results is not fully appreciated. If Wagner, Von Weber, Meyerbeer, Verdi, Gounod, and others had not lived in countries which for a century and more had given great attention to the opera, they never would have written their masterpieces. When we compare the condition of Germany with regard to music with that of America, we can see that though Wagner had to contend with long and bitter opposition, he had little ground for his pessimism after he had gained a footing through his first four works. He had fifteen or twenty opera-houses where his operas could be produced, and in spite of opposition they made their way to all of these, from "Rienzi" and "Lohengrin" to his "Nibelungen Ring," and before the end of his days he had made a fortune through the royalties paid him for his productions.

To the musician one of the chief advantages of the establishment of opera in this country would be the advance in knowledge of music

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and the elevation in taste among the people. The dignity and importance that would naturally be attached to an endowed opera-house would be a great inducement to composers, singers, and orchestral musicians, and much of the latent ability that exists in this country would thus be developed and turned to the best account. We have already reason to look hopefully forward to the future of American music, for in the higher field of creative work a rapid advance has been made in recent years by our composers, among others by Parker, Whiting, Foote, Chadwick, MacDowell, Bird, Strong, and Nevin, of Boston; Buck, H. W. Parker, Van der Stücken, Huss, De Koven, and Shelley, of New York; Clarke and Gilchrist, of Philadelphia; and Gleason, of Chicago. Our ideal should be to stimulate the musical life in all its branches. As our country becomes more populous, the avenues of trade will be congested, the claims of the arts will force themselves on our attention, and young people who have a natural gift for music and acting will be more likely to enter upon a professional career than to sacrifice their natural inclinations.

When one enters a European town and walks into the public square he is often attracted by the architectural features of the buildings there. If he asks the names of these buildings, he is almost sure to find that the opera-house, as well as the art-gallery and the university, is a prominent architectural monument of the place. Why should not the American in the twentieth century be able to show the European who has just come to visit his city, his opera-house together with those other institutions of learning and culture in which he takes pride? If each of our larger cities had such an institution, our people would become interested in the opera, would form the habit of patronizing it, and would fall into that state of mind with regard to it in which the French and Germans are, and thus make it a permanent institution. It would become a part of their life, of their habit, just as the concert, the lecture, and other popular forms of recreation and instruction are now. Our composers, singers, and musicians of all classes would have an incentive to put forth their best energies, and the result would be that we should develop an American opera which would in time take rank with the finest achievements in music. We have much of the musical material at hand. All we need is the means of developing it adequately.

JOHN K. PAINE.

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IMPENDING PAGANISM IN NEW ENGLAND.

THE word *paganus*, pagan, originally meant simply countryman or villager. It acquired its present meaning in consequence of the fact that as Christianity entered the Roman Empire through the cities, the rural regions were the last to be converted. In New England, on the contrary, Christianity came first to the town. Yet New England to-day is confronted with the danger that the country village will be the first to lapse from vital Christianity, that here the English word countryman will repeat the history of its Latin predecessor, and that rusticity will again become synonymous with godlessness and superstition.

Statistics recently gathered by the Maine "Bible Society" show that Waldo County, Maine, has 6,987 families, divided in religious preference as follows: Adventist, 239; Baptist, 713; Christian, 159; Congregational, 691; Episcopal, 24; Free-Will Baptist, 734; Methodist, 1,818; Roman Catholic, 136; Unitarian, 126; Universalist, 619; other denominations, 541; without preference, 1,046; not recorded, 141. Of the total, 4,850 report themselves as not attending church. Oxford County contains 7,288 families, of which 4,577 report that they attend no church. The combined statistics of 15 counties show that of 133,445 families, 67,842 are not attendants upon any church.

A more serious consideration than that of attendance is the character of the religious privileges afforded in the rural regions. There are no strong, vigorous churches in these communities, uniting the intelligence, the resources, the society of an entire village and township in uplifting worship, hearty good-fellowship, dignified social life, and aggressive Christian work. The same diversity of denominational preference which was shown to exist in Waldo County obtains, with variations in the proportionate strength of the denominations due to local causes, throughout these smaller towns. The ministers of these smaller churches are, as a rule, a consecrated and self-sacrificing body of men. Many, however, have entered the ministry from the farm and the shop, rather than from the college and the seminary. The services of the church are meagre and uninspiring; the edifices and their

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appointments are often barren and forbidding; secular amusements are systematically discouraged, though nothing better is offered in their place; and even the spiritual life of the church is dependent on spasmodic revivals rather than sustained interest. Financially, the churches are continually on the verge of bankruptcy. What money is raised comes not directly in subscriptions and pew-rentals, but through the sewing-circle, from fairs and entertainments. The church is supported practically by a club of women, not by families and men. Pastorates are short, and both pastors and people are in a chronic state of dissatisfaction with each other. The Methodist minister, in spite of his itinerancy, is not infrequently the senior pastor of the town.

The length of pastorates is in direct proportion to the size and importance of the church. The average period for which the Congregational pastors of New England, not counting students and licentiates, have been in their present fields of service is six years. The average for pastors of churches having less than fifty members is four years; for pastors of churches having between fifty and one hundred members, five years; for pastors of churches having from one hundred to two hundred and fifty members, six years and a half; for pastors of churches having over two hundred and fifty members, eight years and a half. In Vermont, which has the largest proportion of rural churches, the average falls much lower than in the rest of New England. For the whole State it is four years and a half; for churches of less than fifty members it is two and three-tenths years; for churches having from fifty to one hundred members it is four and three-tenths years; for churches having more than one hundred members it is five and three-tenths years. In addition to these natural difficulties, nearly every town has inherited its church quarrel or church scandal; the churches are engaged in rivalry with each other, or the members of a single church are divided against themselves. Where distance fails to divide the inhabitants of a town, local jealousy takes its place, and the mutual dislike of villager for farmer and farmer for villager often amounts to an attempted maintenance of class distinctions.

From several analyses of the religious condition and history of country towns, furnished me by students and graduates of the college who are intimately acquainted with the facts, I will give a typical case. In and about the village of X— there are between 800 and 1,000 people. The religious opinions have always been pretty evenly divided between the Free-Will Baptist, Congregational, Metho-

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dist, and Universalist denominations. For a time all worshipped together in a union church, hiring in turn a clergyman of each denomination. Thus each month one portion of the congregation had its own theological taste satisfied, although, as one good lady remarked, "you could not tell which was which by the preaching." Sectarian ambition, however, caused first the Universalists, then the Methodists, to withdraw; and alleged immoral conduct on the part of the Baptist clergyman compelled the separate organization of a Congregational church. The latter were swindled by their first minister, who sold them the plans for their church at an exorbitant price. The Methodist church occasionally has a resident pastor, and some years it has none. The Baptist and Universalist churches are supplied by ministers who drive over on Sunday afternoons from neighboring towns. The Congregational church has a student from the seminary three months in the summer. The strongest churches are the Universalist, with its membership of thirteen women and one man, and the Congregational, with its membership of twenty women and four men. There is hardly a representative man in any of these four churches, though the Masonic lodge gathers from this and neighboring towns its hundred members.

Each congregation has on Sunday from fifty to sixty persons. My informant reports that it would be useless for a man to go there as pastor of any church, unless he could make up his mind to stay for a period of years; for the immediate effect of any attempt on the part of one church to do work for the community would be to stir up all the others to fresh competition. His opinion on this point is that of a friend of mine who went into the home-missionary work in a small town in Minnesota. After a few months spent in rivalry with Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Methodist, and Baptist brethren, who each had his little struggling church within a stone's-throw of his own, he wrote back to his friends at the seminary that the only mission for any man out there was to go up and down the State, burning half the churches.

The causes of the decline of rural Christianity may be presented most clearly under five heads:

1. Excessive emphasis upon the transcendence as distinct from the immanence of God is the deeply buried and far-reaching root; extreme individualism is the decaying and unsightly trunk; superfluous sects are the gnarled and knotty branches; doctrinal abstractions are the dry and juiceless leaves; artificial and unreal sermons are the blighted

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and bitter fruit—which together constitute the tree which is now cumbering the ground of rural Christianity.

2. God is regarded as a Being who laid down certain laws, made certain covenants, drew up a certain plan of salvation, was a party to certain transactions, published certain books two or three thousand years ago.

3. Each man feels especially commissioned to discover God's will both for himself and for everybody else; each man must experience the grace of God in the conscious movements of his own breast, and judge himself and everybody else by the standard which he therein discovers; each man must assent with his own intelligence to a comprehensive creed, and require every other intelligence to assent to the same creed; each man must go to Heaven his own way and make everybody else follow. Since it is practically impossible to have as many churches as individuals, the next best thing is to have as many as can either support themselves or get others to do it for them. How important is the last clause may be inferred from the fact that in Maine, out of a total of 246 Congregational churches, 113 receive regular missionary aid and 12 more maintain no services. Yet the Congregational Church is by far the strongest and wealthiest in the State.

4. Having for its subject-matter the relations between a far-off God and the mysterious entity, the soul of man, the theology taught in these churches lacks vitality and is incapable of development. The same abstract, formal relations are true of all men, at all times and under all circumstances.

5. Hence a sermon once made is good for all places and for all time. Preaching gives place to sermonizing. Eloquence comes to be sought as an end in itself; and the effort to be eloquent, like all forms of trying to be smart, eats the heart out of a man with frightful rapidity. It is a miracle of grace if any man survive the process without the loss of all directness of speech, force of character, and simplicity of heart.

The remedy must strike as deep as the disease and must proceed along the lines of causation already indicated. God must be recognized as a living will, embracing all human relations, revealed in social institutions, to be realized through the practical endeavors of men and women and established in the community of which they are a part. "*Unus homo, nullus homo*" ("One man alone is no man at all") should be the text of an encyclical to every congregation. Just as there can be no man who is not son, or father, or brother, or husband,

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citizen, neighbor, friend, owner of property, and a centre of some economic, social, or intellectual interest, so the church should declare that the only goodness of man that amounts to anything consists in being a filial son, a wise father, a kind brother, a loving husband, a loyal citizen, a helpful neighbor, a faithful friend, a thorough workman, an honest tradesman, a cheerful companion, a wise counsellor. To leave these concrete virtues and relations out of account and then try to maintain within the church an abstract doctrinal creed or to develop within the breast of the individual a subjective piety apart from them, is to doom the church in advance to the dreary alternative between a cold, formal Pharisaism on the one hand and an effeminate, sentimental mysticism on the other.

As long as a man conceives himself chiefly as an individual apart from his fellows, he will care little for association beyond necessity. The moment he learns to think of himself as essentially related to his fellows, a member together with them of the family, society, and state, bone of their bone, flesh of their flesh, bound to them by the indissoluble ties of common language, common customs, common traditions, common institutions, common aspirations, common interests, common enthusiasms, he will desire to express this community of spirit in outward and visible association and fellowship. No church will seem to him complete that does not include, or strive to include, every other member of the social organism of which he is himself a part. Such a tidal wave of social consciousness is the only power strong enough to lift these divided and prostrate churches up to the level of genuine and effective co-operation.

In the mean time valuable work can be done in diminishing existing evils and preventing their increase. More has been accomplished within the past few months in Maine than elsewhere, because less has been attempted. We have not aimed at union, nor even at any great degree of co-operation. We have sought and practically attained a condition which, if existing between political bodies, would be called armed neutrality. Each of five closely related denominations agrees to let the work of the others alone, to consult the denominations already on the ground, or those having churches in the immediate vicinity, before beginning work in a new field, and to respect the traditions and preferences of the community itself. Provision for the moral support and enforcement of these resolutions is made in the recommendation of a permanent commission consisting of three members from each denomination, to which cases involving matters of

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interdenominational comity may be referred. During the year and a half that these and similar principles have been formally recognized, there have been only two or three cases of apparent and but one of real violation of its provisions; and in that single case the fault apparently was one of intention rather than of motive, to use Bentham's distinction. The violation was not a deliberately planned scheme for the acquisition of denominational territory, but was an after-thought resulting from the desire to reap the fruits of an unforeseen revival.

There is some promise in the disposition of the Congregationalists to abandon the local congregation as the unit of the church, and to unite the scattered congregations of a county or considerable district into a single church, with one pastor, having as many associates and subordinates as may be necessary. This month five graduates of Andover Seminary go to the northern part of Franklin County, Maine, at very considerable sacrifice to themselves in the way of salary, in order to devote the first years of their ministerial life to the solution of this very problem. They propose to study the religious, social, and economic conditions of the region, its natural resources, its geography and roads. They will work in common, uniting their strength when union will be effective, and distributing themselves and their helpers in such a way as to reach the entire community with regular ministrations.

The moment the recognition of man's social nature is gained, doctrine will become vital and concrete. God's will concerning foreordination, election, the plan of salvation, and the problems of eschatology may be stated in highly technical and abstract phraseology, and is doubtless susceptible of many shades of interpretation. God's will, however, as it applies to home life, social intercourse, the training of children, the doing of honest work and the making of a fair bargain, the care of the poor, the reform of the vicious, the encouragement of the unfortunate, the casting of the ballot, the administration of office, participation in plans for village improvement, co-operation in methods of social reform, does indeed require painstaking thought and laborious study to discover it; but, once clearly apprehended, it is not difficult to state it in clear and convincing words. The trouble is that until within the past few years the theological seminaries, and even the colleges, have given little or no attention to these things. Theological education has been disproportionately abstract, linguistic, and antiquarian. It has taught God's will for Israel, rather than for the American Republic; the letter of ancient languages, rather than

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the spirit of modern institutions. A young preacher once read me a sermon filled from beginning to end with abstract propositions about the proper relations of the soul to its Maker. When he had finished I said to him, "That is a first-rate sermon of its kind, but for every sermon of this kind you ought to write one of the other kind." "What other kind?" he asked. "Why," I said, "this is all about the way to save the soul. The other kind of sermon should show what use to make of the soul after it is saved: how the saved soul should behave in the home; how it should do business; how it can make the community happier and better; how to fulfil the duties of husband or wife, of father or son, of neighbor or friend, of workman or employer, of owner of wealth or holder of office, of citizen or patriot." "Oh," said the young preacher, in despair, "I don't know anything about these things." The college and the seminary must see to it that the preachers of the future do know something about these things to start with, and, what is more important, that they know how to study these things in connection with their future work.

The accomplishment of these stages in the reform will carry the last with it as a matter of course. Let the church take upon itself the charitable, philanthropic, social, and reformatory work that needs to be done in its neighborhood and village; let all good people join hands to accomplish definite social results; let such an enterprising and united church look to its minister for guidance, leadership, encouragement, and inspiration to carry on this work persistently and effectively in the wisdom of God and in the spirit of Christ, and the minister will have something real, vital, interesting, and practical to talk about. He will still go to his Bible for his text; but he will know what text he wants and why he wants it. He will rely on his commentary as before; but for the exposition merely, not for the "application." He will draw his motive as now from his theology, or rather from the God of whom it tells him; but his appeal will not be a perfunctory passage at the end, but the close and constant connection, maintained from first to last, between the highest ideals and the plainest duties. Such a message will come straight from the mind and heart of the minister, and go straight home to the mind and heart of the people. Such preaching, based on thorough comprehension of the concrete situation, enforced by motive and example drawn from God's wider dealings with his people, uttered with the directness and simplicity with which a leader and a master always speaks about things he clearly understands, will vindicate anew the preacher's place and power.

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Is there any practical way by which these remedies may be applied? There is a possible way; but one hesitates to suggest any form of organization, for fear that if attempted it would soon harden into one more of the numberless competitors already in the field. The real line of division among Christians to-day is not between denominations, but between the broad and the narrow men in all denominations. Each denomination has its members who lay stress upon the fantastic, the traditional, the formal, the arbitrary, in their modes of worship, their articles of faith, and their forms of polity. Each denomination has also men who care first and foremost for that common Christ-like life which all denominations are striving to embody, and whose only attachment to sect is due to the accident of birth and early association, or preference for the more simple or more dignified way of doing things which their denomination represents. The former class in every denomination can be counted on for nothing more than the patching up of the worn and faded sectarian garments. They are not strong enough to renovate the old; but they are strongly enough intrenched to prevent the old organizations from lending themselves, as organizations, to any organic union.

The only hope lies in the possibility of the broader men in all the denominations of a town coming together and, in entire disregard of existing denominational lines, forming themselves into the church of Christ in the town, and calling a minister without reference to his denominational affiliations, solely on his merits as a leader of men in spiritual life and work. It would be necessary to confine the creed of such a town church to the fundamental principles of Christian truth and life. Belief in a Father who wills the good of all his children; belief in Christ as the incarnation of God's loving will and the revelation of man's spiritual ideal; belief in the spirit of love as the source of individual blessedness and social well-being; belief in the family, the state, the school, the library, the reading-room, the social circle, the happy holiday, the club, the honest piece of work, the fair bargain, the helping hand, the restful Sabbath, the house of public worship, the Bible, and the church as essential means for the realization of God's will for man and of man's own ideal of a noble, generous, joyous life—these would be the essential articles of faith for a church which should undertake to represent the kingdom of God in a country town.

A town which, on some such broad, practical basis, should offer a cordial welcome and adequate support to a minister, would have no

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difficulty in finding a man capable of developing in the people an increasing consciousness of these spiritual relations, a growing loyalty to these spiritual institutions, and a spreading enthusiasm for the performance of these spiritual duties. There are such men. When the present generation of college and seminary students is in the field, there will be many more. The increased salary and the larger opportunity for usefulness which the town church would afford would easily call the right men from the denominational churches. The transfer from a denominational to a town church would be regarded as a recognition of organizing as distinct from mere preaching power; it would mark one as an all-round man, fitted to be a leader of his fellows in all that concerns spiritual well-being. It would be a promotion.

The movement must come from the towns themselves, through the men and women in and out of existing churches who appreciate the insuperable evils of the existing denominationalism, and are determined at all costs to have a vigorous and healthful spiritual life established in its place. These earnest, sensible people exist in every town. They are, however, without leadership, as sheep without a shepherd. An informal association of broad-minded ministers and large-hearted laymen from all denominations might do something to help on the movement, by way of arranging details of organization and suggesting to such town churches ministers of sufficient breadth of theological view, tact and capacity for administration, sociological training and practical experience. Ten such ministers could be found to-day for every church that would accept them on these terms. Such a movement would revolutionize the religious condition of our country towns in twenty years. The time is ripe for it; the men are ready; the colleges and seminaries are full of men who would enter eagerly into a work so full of hope and promise. Sheer financial bankruptcy is forcing upon the most reluctant communities the choice between something like this and spiritual death.

The narrow ecclesiastical faction that contents itself with giving to a few favored individuals free passes to a future heaven, that occupies itself exclusively with the forms of its worship and the phrases of its creed, that entertains itself with elaborate rites or eloquent discourses, has had its day, and is already dying of inanition in the country regions. Whether paganism shall take the vacant place, or there shall be planted there a broader, richer, nobler church, is the most serious spiritual problem that confronts American Christianity

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to-day. For the country is the fountain of the nation's life. Sociologists tell us that "only the agricultural class possesses permanent vitality; from its overflow the city population is formed, displaced, renewed." "Any city population, if left to itself, would die out in four generations." "The city is an inland lake, fed by constant streams, but without an outlet." As are the fountains, so will be stream and lake. The problem of rural Christianity is the problem of national Christianity stated a few generations in advance. For the adequate solution of the problem, neither convictions, nor men, nor money are lacking. The one thing needed is some means by which the forces which are now so wastefully scattered and hopelessly divided may be united and applied.

WILLIAM DEWITT HYDE.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE, Brunswick, Me., May, 1892.

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WHAT THE CENSUS OF THE CHURCHES SHOWS.

THE first impression one gets in studying the results of the Government census of the churches is that there is an infinite variety of religion in the United States. We find represented here almost all the varieties that the Old World has produced, with many that are peculiarly American. We have the Roman, the Greek, the Russo-Greek, the Armenian, the Old and the Converted Catholics—all European in origin except the last. We have Judaism, Conservative and Reformed; Paganism, American and Asiatic—American as represented in the worship of the Pueblo Indians, Asiatic as observed by the Chinese and Japanese. Then there is a bewildering variety of Protestant denominations which it is difficult to reduce to an orderly and scientific arrangement. The Protestant Episcopal church is of course the outcome of the work begun here early in the seventeenth century by the Church of England. The Reformed Episcopal church is a division of the Protestant Episcopal body. The latter we regard as of English, the former as of American, origin. So far it is easy to keep the essential distinctions clearly in mind. Congregationalism, as we all know, came to us in the "Mayflower"; but Unitarianism is an American development out of it.

Methodism was brought over from Ireland and nourished by English missionaries. As the result of the seed thus planted, we have under the Methodist genus so many species that the ordinary student becomes hopelessly confused in trying to find clear, positive elements of distinction in the names of the dozen or more different branches. The oldest of these names is the Methodist-Episcopal, and the student will ascertain that it belongs to the largest body. That is definite as far as it goes. But here is the Methodist-Episcopal church, South. The Methodist-Episcopal church is represented in every State, South as well as North, although for the purpose of distinction it is often spoken of as the Northern Methodist church. Another similar name is the Union American Methodist-Episcopal church—a small body hidden behind a large name, which conveys no hint of the fact that it is composed of colored members. Not to make too formidable an

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array of Methodist titles, I may simply mention that there are three other distinct colored bodies employing the term Methodist-Episcopal with such slight variation as the word African, Colored, or Zion may indicate. Besides these, there are Protestant, Free, Primitive, Wesleyan, Congregational, Independent, and other varieties of Methodists —making fourteen churches in all. Twelve of these have been developed under the influence of American ideas. There are three other denominations which have Methodistic institutions, though not historically a part of Methodism. Here are fifteen varieties belonging to American soil.

The same perplexity will attend the study of the Presbyterian and Baptist divisions. No distinction is conveyed by the names Presbyterian church in the United States of America and Presbyterian church in the United States. The only way to tell one from the other is to fix in the mind the fact that the body with the shorter name is confined to the South, while the other has the bulk of its members in the North. There are four Reformed Presbyterian branches, with names so nearly alike that various expedients have to be resorted to when it is desired to refer to each one separately. There are twelve divisions in the Presbyterian family, nine of which are American differentiations.

Of the Baptists, the Regular and Missionary Baptists are the chief body, existing in the form of Northern, Southern, and Colored wings; Primitive or Old-School Baptists are also Regular but not Missionary; the Old Two-Seed in the Spirit Predestinarian Baptists are a variety of the primitive type; the Free, the Free-Will, the General, the General Free-Will, the Original Free-Will, are all slight variations applying to the same stock of Arminian Baptists; the Seventh-Day Baptists exist in two divisions; and the Six-Principle Baptists are Baptists who hold six principles of doctrine and practice as of special importance. Besides these, there are the German Baptists or Dunkards, who baptize by trine immersion, and exist in three divisions and still other bodies. The Dunkards came originally from Germany. Their divisions have developed recently.

The Lutherans and the Mennonites are no exception to the rule of division. There are four general bodies of Lutherans and twelve independent synods. The Mennonites, though numbering only about 41,500 in all, are divided into no fewer than twelve branches. After running through the list and reading such titles as Amish, Old Amish, Apostolic, Reformed, Defenceless, and Old (Wisler) Mennonites, the

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learner will feel like adopting the method of the deacon who came upon an insoluble scriptural problem and "look the difficulty boldly in the face and pass on." The census list of actual, distinct denominations, including communistic societies, foots up to about 140. For fully a hundred of these we can claim American origin, either by the process of division, as in the Methodist, Presbyterian, Lutheran, and other ecclesiastical families, or by the adoption of new doctrines or principles, as in the case of the Adventists, Disciples of Christ, Universalists, Unitarians, Spiritualists, Christian Scientists, Mormons, etc.

It would be interesting to trace back to their ultimate cause or causes those tendencies to new denominations and to divisions in existing denominations which are so manifest in American religious history. This would be no easy matter; but I am persuaded that the intermingling in our population of diverse race elements would be found an important factor in the problem. The coming together of men of different tongues, different physical and mental characteristics, different habits of thought, and particularly of different early education, as citizens of a country which gives the utmost freedom to all systems of religion and no exclusive favors to any, cannot be without curious and striking results. We might reasonably expect to find as an outcome currents, counter-currents, and eddies of religious thought; here a movement toward laxity in practice and doctrine, there a desperate clinging to disciplinary and doctrinal peculiarities; a grading up and a grading down; a tendency to lay increased emphasis on the observance of the sacraments and rituals, and a tendency in the opposite direction.

As a matter of fact, all these and many other signs are open to the investigation of the observer. But no tendency of the time seems to me so powerful an impulse as that toward liberalization. This explains in large degree, I think, the multiplication of divisions. Take the Dunkards as an illustration. This denomination is of German origin. A band of Dunkards came across the sea to Pennsylvania in 1719. They were a very simple peasant people, exclusive in thought and habits of life, interpreting the Bible literally and endeavoring to find in it directions for every act. They were in the world, but not a part of the world; they deliberately shut out its fashions and follies from their lives; they erected every possible barrier against its influences; but they have not been able to preserve all their peculiarities against the continuous siege of the spirit of the age. They began almost insensibly to relax their discipline; then they modified some of

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their practices; then they found that innovations had come among them in the form of Sunday-schools, high-schools, musical instruments, and departures from the severe plainness of dress which they had formerly considered essential, and in the mode of wearing the hair and beard. This tendency naturally met with opposition from the older element, and the result was division a few years ago; and there is now a progressive, a conservative, and an ultra-conservative or old-order branch. The same explanation applies to most of the numerous divisions among the Mennonites, and to those among the Reformed Presbyterians and other bodies. The division of the Presbyterian church in 1837 into New and Old School branches was the most striking instance in our history of the power of liberal ideas in theology, not excepting even the Unitarian controversy among the Congregational churches.

The problem of religious increase, like the problem of growth of population, has been greatly complicated by immigration. To this source some of our leading churches owe a phenomenal increase. The Roman Catholic church and the various branches of the Lutheran communion have, in the latter half of the present century, had their numerical strength enormously increased by the new-comers from other lands. The Irish, German, Polish, Hungarian, and Italian immigration has poured a continuous stream into the Roman Catholic church, and made it the most polyglot church in the country. It has priests to minister to its six and a quarter million communicants, in the English, German, Bohemian, Polish, Lithuanian, Hungarian, French, Spanish, Italian, and other languages. In addition to the great numbers who have come across the ocean, the French Catholic Canadians have swarmed over our Northern borders into New England, and in the land of the Pilgrims and Puritans we find more than four Catholic worshippers to one Congregational. There are a million communicants in the Catholic church in those six States, against 230,000 in the Congregational churches. This is one of the striking results of immigration and migration; for while immigration has brought Catholics in, migration has taken Congregationalists out to other parts of the country, particularly to the great West. New England is Roman Catholic.

Of the great influx from Germany, the Roman Catholic church has received a large share; but much has also gone to swell the numbers of the Lutheran and German Reformed churches, particularly the former. Add to this the large immigration from Scandinavia and

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Denmark, most of which is Lutheran, and you account for a large percentage of the 1,200,000 Lutheran communicants. It must not be forgotten, however, that Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, and other churches secure, by evangelization, a portion of this German and Scandinavian element, which, both in the first and second generations, is diffusing itself among various denominations.

The present census of religious bodies will show, when the results are fully tabulated and published, a few months hence, the strength and distribution of the churches with a sufficient degree of accuracy. It will be possible to ascertain not only how many communicants, congregations, and church edifices, with their seating capacity and value, each denomination had in 1890, but all these facts will be given by counties and States, and also by cities. As the cities present, with their crowded and diverse elements of population, important problems in evangelization, it will be of no little advantage to have, for the first time, an adequate statement of the religious facilities provided for them. The census will show also what has been done religiously for the negro and what he has done for himself; but we shall be without the materials for comparisons of growth or loss by decades, unless they are obtained from other sources. This is the first census which the Government has taken of the religious bodies and tabulated. In connection with the tenth census, much information was gathered by Dr. Henry Randall Waite, but it was not tabulated. Such religious statistics as were given in former censuses seem to have been compiled from denominational sources. Not a few denominations appear in the tables of the eleventh census, which never gathered and published statistics before. A thorough basis for comparison will not be possible, therefore, until the next census is taken.

But we may turn with much confidence to the yearly reports which a number of the leading denominations are accustomed to give. Some of these denominational returns are gathered with much care, and are quite as trustworthy as statistics in general are apt to be. Those of the Presbyterian churches—North, South, and United—of the Congregational, the Protestant Episcopal, the Methodist-Episcopal (North and South), the Dutch Reformed, and the German Reformed churches, are to be accepted as fairly accurate, and there is a number of other denominations which give considerable attention to the collection of their statistics. Special difficulties have met the Lutherans in their attempts to gather exhaustive annual reports, but they have in late years attained to a larger degree of accuracy.

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The Roman Catholic church has in this respect lagged far behind other churches. There is no reason to doubt that its annual returns of the number of churches, chapels, and stations are sufficiently correct; but it has made no effort to secure an exact report of communicants. Its year-books have been accustomed only to give an "estimate" of the "Catholic population" of the various dioceses. The priests report the number of births and deaths and baptisms, but do not make an actual count of communicants, or even of "population." The practice has been to estimate the "population" of a diocese on the basis of the priests' returns for births and deaths. The results of this process may or may not be approximately correct. They have not, however, been satisfactory to many leading Catholics. The late Dr. John Gilmary Shea, a leading authority in the church, was far from satisfied with them. His name appeared as editor of Sadlier's "Catholic Directory" in 1884, and he announced his purpose to be to obtain as speedily as possible materials for a table of "Catholic vital statistics as a basis for estimating the Catholic population." The next year the column headed "Catholic Population" disappeared. A foot-note in connection with the table of vital statistics ran thus:

> "It is to be hoped that in future years these items can be furnished by all dioceses, so as to present some absolute Catholic statistics. When these are accessible, the questions arising from them can be settled without any wild or designing invention of figures."

The attempt to perfect this table was abandoned after a few years, and estimates of Catholic population reappeared. Parish priests do not keep a registry of their communicants as most Protestant pastors do; at least it is not a rule among them to do so. Some parishes are very populous. One is reported which contains 17,500 souls. It would be very difficult, if not impossible, to make and revise yearly a list of communicants in such large parishes.

The census returns for the Catholics are of *communicants;* that is, baptized children who have not been admitted to their first communion are not included. Every possible effort was made to secure in each diocese trustworthy returns of communicants. Some Catholics have criticised the results as being below the actual figures; but in reply it may be said that no one knows what the "actual figures" are, apart from the census, that the census returns are vouched for by the archbishops and bishops or other diocesan authorities, and that they cannot be discredited until something more than "estimated Catholic population" is offered in proof of their inadequacy.

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The claim that the Roman Catholic church has grown rapidly in recent years would appear to be well supported. The facts of the large immigration from Catholic countries, of the multiplication of dioceses, of the increase of parishes and priests, may be pleaded in justification for it. The census gives the number of communicants in 1890 as 6,250,045. Sadlier's "Catholic Directory" gave as the "estimated Catholic population" in 1880, 6,367,330. If 85 per cent[1] of this number be taken as representing communicants, we get as a basis for comparison the figures 5,412,230. This would indicate an increase of 837,815 communicants in the ten years, a percentage of about 15.48. This is astonishingly low. The percentage of increase in the total population of the country in the same period was 24.86. It is scarcely possible that the rate of Catholic increase fell below that of the general population. What is the explanation? Obviously, that the figures for 1880 were too high. If they were reduced by 412,000 the percentage would be more nearly correct. What they ought to have been, of course, no one can tell; but there is reason enough to believe that they were much too large. The apparent discrepancy between the growth of the population and the growth of the church is not to be explained away by attributing it to the losses the church has sustained through mixed marriages and the departure of children from the faith of their parents.

Of the Protestant churches, the Methodist-Episcopal is at once among the largest and most aggressive. The census gives it a total of 2,229,281 communicants. In 1880 it reported, within the limits of the United States, 1,707,000. Here is a net increase of 522,281 in the ten years, which is at the rate of 52,228 a year. The percentage is a little more than 30, or five per cent larger than the increase of the population.

[1] Census Bulletin No. 101, which contains the statistics of the Roman Catholic church, says:

"As the Roman Catholic church always gives in its published annual statistics the number of baptized members or population instead of communicants, the census appointee in each diocese was requested to comply with the requirements of the census schedules and furnish the number of communicants, in order that the statistics of all denominations might be uniform. According to information received from bishops, it is the custom of the church for baptized persons to make their first communion between the ages of nine and eleven years. Baptized persons below the age of nine years are not included, therefore, in the census returns. Some ecclesiastical authorities estimate that members of this class constitute about fifteen per cent of the population of the church, which, of course, embraces both baptized members and communicants."

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Let us next take the four principal Presbyterian churches, the first two chiefly occupying the States of the North and the latter two those of the South:

Churches.	Communicants in 1880.	Communicants in 1890.
Presbyterian, North	573,178	788,224
" United	80,830	94,402
" South	120,028	179,721
" Cumberland	110,000	164,940

This shows a net increase of 215,046, or nearly 40 per cent, in the Northern Presbyterian church; 13,572, or less than 17 per cent, in the United branch; 59,693, or not quite 50 per cent, in the Southern church; and 54,940, or about 50 per cent, in the Cumberland body. This indicates an average growth in these four churches of about 39 per cent. The low rate of growth in the United Presbyterian church is due to several causes, among which its somewhat strict terms of communion and the fact that it appeals largely to the Scotch element in our population are prominent.

We should not naturally expect that the Dutch Reformed church would show a large rate of increase. It has ministered chiefly to the Dutch and their descendants, and the immigration from Holland has not been heavy. Its sister body, the German Reformed, on the contrary, has had great opportunity in the large influx from Germany.

Churches.	Communicants in 1880.	Communicants in 1890.
Dutch Reformed	78,922	92,970
German "	161,000	204,018

The Dutch church, it appears, has gathered 14,048, or less than 18 per cent, and the German church 43,018, or somewhat under 27 per cent.

What the German and Scandinavian immigration has done for the various Lutheran bodies is indicated by the fact that while their aggregate of communicants was 712,240 in 1880—doubtless a little below the real figures—it was 1,199,514 in 1890, a clear gain of 487,274, or more than 68 per cent. Even this high percentage, however, is surpassed by that of the Jews, who advanced from 50,000 members of synagogue in 1880 to 130,496 in 1890—a net increase of 80,496, or 160 per cent. Immigration was also the source of this extraordinary growth.

With two additional instances these comparisons must close—the census statistics of the Protestant Episcopal and Baptist bodies, which

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would be likely to yield interesting results, not having been published as yet. Doubtless no two denominations would be likely to feel in smaller measure the effects of immigration than the Congregational and the Disciples of Christ. There were of the former in 1880, 384,332; in 1890 there were 512,771. Here is a gain of 128,439, or a little more than 33 per cent. The Disciples of Christ, a native denomination of pretty vigorous growth in the West and the Southwest and the border States of the South, Congregational in polity, Baptist in mode of baptism, and advocating as a leading principle the restoration of the "lost unity of believers and so of the Church of Christ"—the Disciples of Christ have added to their numbers in ten years upward of 291,000, if their somewhat uncertain returns for 1880 be accepted as a basis for comparison. The census gives them 641,000, against 350,000 in 1880. This is a gain of more than 83 per cent.

The total of communicants of the denominations passed in review, according to the census, is 12,487,382. The same denominations had in 1880, 9,739,760. The consequent gain is 2,747,622, or 28.21 per cent. This—taking no account of the obvious mistakes in the Catholic returns for 1880, which robs that church of its just share of prosperity—is 3.35 per cent higher than the growth of the population for the same period. In the census returns yet to be published, the Baptist, Protestant Episcopal, and some other churches may be expected to show a heavy percentage of gain; while a few other bodies have scarcely more than held their own. It seems likely that the percentage above given will be increased rather than diminished, when the census is completed.

One of the most striking results of the census will be its revelations concerning the value of the property held for the use of worshippers. Returns are made of the value of edifices, their furniture, and the lots on which they stand. For the Roman Catholic church, which has 10,221 organizations, or churches, chapels, and stations, the value of church property is given at $118,381,516. The various Lutheran bodies, with 8,427 organizations, have $34,218,234 thus invested; the three Reformed churches—Dutch, German, and Christian —$18,744,242; the two bodies of Jews, $9,754,275; the four branches of Friends, $4,451,334; and the various Presbyterian bodies nearly $95,000,000. The returns for about a hundred denominations, with some of the largest not included, make the enormous aggregate of $463,000,000, representing about 88,000 organizations or congregations, a considerable portion of which worship in halls, school-houses,

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or private houses. This vast sum, which is sure to attract the attention of those economists who believe that church property ought not to be exempt from taxation, does not include parsonages or any other church property than that used for worship; nor does it take account of buildings occupied by the Young Men's Christian Association, or theological seminaries, or church schools, or orphan asylums, etc.

The financial side of Christianity and other forms of religion represented among us has never been studied by competent observers. It is a subject of vast proportions and of corresponding importance. The census will place at the disposal of those who are willing to interest themselves in the matter a mass of information which has never been given before, except by a few of the churches. It is to be hoped that the scope of the inquiry may be enlarged in the next census, so as to include other property owned and used for religious purposes, and, if possible, the amounts raised in the census year for church expenses, the support of missions (home and foreign), and for definitely religious objects. Religion is not a mere matter of sentiment, or of spiritual exercise, or of moral instruction; it has a material side which is of great importance to society and the state.

HENRY K. CARROLL.

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WRITERS AND SUBJECTS IN THE JUNE FORUM.

THOMAS FRANCIS BAYARD (*Democratic Duty and Opportunity*) was born at Wilmington, Del., in 1828, and educated at Flushing, L. I. After a few years of mercantile life in New York and Philadelphia, he studied law in Wilmington and was admitted to practice in 1851. In 1869 he succeeded his father in the Senate, where he remained until 1884, when he became Secretary of State under President Cleveland.

GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR (*Reasons for Republican Control*) was born in Concord, Mass., in 1826, graduated from Harvard College in 1846, and from the Harvard Law School in 1849. He served in the House of Representatives from 1868 to 1876, and was elected to the United States Senate in 1876. Since that time he has occupied a conspicuous place among the Republican leaders in the Senate. He has written considerably on political and kindred topics for the magazines.

S. WEIR MITCHELL (*A New Poet*), born in Philadelphia in 1829, was graduated at the Jefferson Medical College in 1850. He has won distinction as a specialist in nervous diseases, as a writer on medical science, and as a contributor of fiction and articles of a literary character to the leading popular magazines. He is a member of the National Academy of Sciences and several other scientific societies. He takes a keen interest in literary as well as scientific affairs.

E. O. LEECH (*The Fall of Silver and its Causes*) was born in Washington, D. C., about forty-two years ago. He was graduated from the National University of Washington, and entered the service of the Mint Bureau about 1873. He is now at the head of the bureau. He has frequently appeared in the House before the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, and is regarded as authority on all matters pertaining to coinage.

TIMOTHY DWIGHT (*Education for Women at Yale*), born in Norwich, Conn., in 1828, after graduating from Yale, in 1849, studied theology for three years and then taught there until 1855, when he studied for two years at Bonn and Berlin. In 1858 he became professor of sacred literature and New-Testament Greek in Yale Theological Seminary. In 1886 he was made president of Yale.

A. C. BENSON (*The Training of Boys at Eton*) is one of the masters at Eton, the celebrated English school. The careful study which he has given to the systems which prevail in the leading boys' schools of England, and his experience as a teacher, make him an authority on the subject which he treats.

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JOHN B. MOORE (*Needed Reform in Naturalization*) was born in Delaware in 1860, educated at the University of Virginia, and admitted to the Bar in 1883. In 1885 he was appointed to a position in the Department of State, and in the following year was made Third Assistant Secretary of State. This office he held till 1891, when he was elected professor of international law in Columbia College. Mr. Moore is the author of several legal works, including a treatise on extradition, and he is an associate of the Institute of International Law.

WILBUR OLIN ATWATER (*What the Coming Man Will Eat*) was born in 1844, in Johnsburg, N. Y., graduated as A. B. at Wesleyan in 1865 and as Ph. D. at Yale in 1869, studied in the universities of Leipsic and Berlin and elsewhere in Europe, and has been professor of chemistry in Wesleyan University since 1873. He was director of the first Agricultural Experiment Station in the United States, the work of which was done in 1875–77 in the chemical laboratory of Wesleyan, and he was made director of the Office of Experiment Stations, organized in 1888 as a central bureau in connection with the United States Department of Agriculture. He is also director of the Storrs (Connecticut) Agricultural Experiment Station.

HENRY C. ADAMS (*The Slaughter of Railway Employees*) was graduated at Iowa College in 1874, and four years later received the degree of doctor of philosophy from Johns Hopkins University. He was lecturer in Cornell and Johns Hopkins universities in 1880, and also in the University of Michigan in 1881. From 1882 to 1887 he directed the department of political economy in Cornell as well as at the University of Michigan, where in 1887 he assumed the professorship of political economy and finance, which he still holds. In 1888 he was made statistician to the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the following year took charge of the department of transportation in the Eleventh Census. He is the author of "Public Debts: An Essay in the Science of Finance," and other works.

JOHN KNOWLES PAINE (*Shall We Have Endowed Opera?*) was born in Portland, Me., in 1839. His musical education was completed in Berlin. In 1862 he became instructor in music at Harvard, and in 1876 was given a full professorship, which he still retains. He has composed an oratorio, a mass, and a large number of other compositions. He is at present at work on a grand opera. He stands in the first rank among American composers.

WILLIAM DEWITT HYDE (*Impending Paganism in New England*), born in Winchendon, Mass., in 1858, was graduated at Harvard in 1859 and at the Andover Theological Seminary in 1861. In 1885 he was elected president and professor of moral philosophy at Bowdoin College. The college has prospered greatly under his ministrations, and he has won a high reputation as an educator. He has contributed articles to the leading reviews.

HENRY K. CARROLL (*What the Census of Churches Shows*) was born in Dennisville, N. J., 1848. He was the founder and editor of the "Havre Republican," at Havre de Grace, Md., in 1868; assistant editor of "The Methodist," 1869; assistant editor of "Hearth and Home," 1870; religious editor of "The Independent" in 1876, of which he is now the religious and political editor. He was appointed special agent of the Eleventh Census in 1889. He received the degree of LL.D. from Syracuse University in 1885.

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